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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

TEMPERANCE, THE WCTU, AND EDUCATION IN ALBERTA, 1905-1930

by

© Nancy M. Sheehan

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND
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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled "Temperance, the WCTU, and Education, 1905-1930," submitted by Nancy M. Sheehan in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History of Education.

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Date September 30, 1980

DEDICATION

To Bernie,

and our family ...

for their very special contribution.

May they not have suffered unduly.

ABSTRACT

This dissertation presents and analyzes the characteristics, successes and failures of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union movement in Alberta in the context of the reform mentality of the early twentieth century. The woman's movement, the drive for change in the schools, the political redirection of the society, as well as the temperance and social gospel movements all found some following in the WCTU. The interrelationships in personnel and concerns of these aspects of reform are illustrated. As well, this research shows the connection between local attempts at change and broader, national and transnational reform movements.

As active members of the temperance movement in Alberta during the first two decades of the twentieth century, the ladies of the WCTU mounted a campaign to create a dry society. The campaign was mainly one of education - of children, of adults, and of their own members. Their educational strategy had two foci: the public school where they advocated Scientific Temperance Instruction; and the informal educational arrangements of the society through which they hoped to convince others of the "righteousness" of their cause. This discussion demonstrates conclusively their faith in the powers of education to overcome evil, a faith which they were still professing long after their mission was lost.

The followers of the WCTU believed they had the right and indeed the duty to protect the home and family from immoral influences of the society of the day. By becoming involved outside the home in activities not traditionally recognized as being in the domestic sphere, these women broadened and extended their interests. Consequently, the organization helped legitimize the role of women in the marketplace. However, that role was limited to activities that coincided with women's maternal responsibilities, fields concerned with women and children, such as nursing, education, social welfare, and child care. The study argues that the women's movement at the turn of the century was therefore, one of maternal feminism.

By 1930 the WCTU in Alberta had lost members, enthusiasm, and acceptance in the larger society. Still advocating a totally dry society long after the frontier had disappeared and the populace had opted for more material values, the organization was no longer attuned to the goals and concerns of the majority. The defeat of Prohibition in 1923 and the introduction into the schools of an ineffective temperance education programme ended the real thrust of the organization. This analysis concludes that the Woman's Christian Temperance Union in Alberta had short term success, but long term failure in both its prohibition goals and in its educational endeavors.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This study concentrates on the Woman's Christian Temperance Union in Alberta, and its educational endeavors to create a dry society. Between the years 1905 and 1930 the WCTU grew from a few, sparsely scattered unions in the Province to a group that took much credit for the Prohibition legislation of 1916, an organization that saw victory change to defeat in 1923, and a group of women who were still showing great faith in the powers of education in 1930, by which time they had lost membership, spirit, and the sympathy and cooperation of many in the society.

The WCTU was an active member of the social reform movement in Alberta during the first three decades of the twentieth century. Both the union itself, and social reform generally, were introduced to Western Canada early, before the problems which sparked reform elsewhere, problems of immigration, industrialization, and urbanization, had had much impact. Pressure for change in the society was manifested in three distinct, but interrelated movements: the social gospel movement, the drive for political reform; and the campaign to diversify the schools. One cause that overlapped all three movements was the temperance crusade. Prohibitionists blamed the use of alcohol for society's social ills, and appealed for a political solution via educational means. Developed much earlier in the United States the temperance movement in Alberta was a part of a world-wide movement for elimination of alcohol, as well as a move to correct problems indigenous to local areas.

The WCTU, so central to the temperance movement, was founded in the United States in 1874 as an organization of women who believed they had the right and duty to protect home and family by becoming involved in areas outside of the home, areas not traditionally seen as being in the domestic sphere. Organized on the prairies as the frontier society was developing the WCTU led the campaign to improve social conditions, advocating government imposed prohibition. With education as their main strategy the women concentrated on both the public school and other informal educational arrangements to get their ideas accepted. They brought to the problems of the new Albertan society a philosophy and a methodology developed elsewhere. This organization then, provides a vehicle with which to view the relationship between social change, including the women's movement, and society's institutions and organizations, and to analyze the impact that national and international events could have on the local Alberta scene.

In the quarter century between the 1890's and the 1920's Canadian society including that of Alberta was transformed.[1] During this period the country grew in population, in the number of provinces and in national maturity. It experienced an influx of non-English speaking immigrants, the industrialization and urbanization of its economy, and the opening up of the West. These three major changes had profound influence on the social fabric of the nation. To many people the established Anglo-Saxon dominance of the country appeared threatened and pressure for change upset the traditional political, religious and educational arrangements of the society.[2]

Pressure for change came from a variety of interest groups, was directed at various institutions in the society, and revealed the diversity of the developing nation. Politics, religion, and schooling all underwent substantial change: new political parties were formed; religion adopted a social conscience and fundamentalist sects emerged; public education came to include physical and social development as well as academic and moral concerns; labor became a more vocal influence in the country; a country life interest with its concern for the plight of the rural community developed; prohibition became law as did the vote for women. Laws were passed which protected dependent children, married women, and the industrial worker. Socially, the Canada of the 1920's was different from the one of the 1890's. A transformation had taken place, pushed by concerned citizens, politicians, and institutions such as the churches. The changes that occurred in society intertwined, overlapped and affected one another.

In The Social Passion Richard Allen describes this transformation succinctly: "From the 1890's through the 1930's the spirit of reform was abroad in the land. In church and in secular society, in rural and urban life, in municipality and province, and progressively in federal politics, reformers were attempting the awesome task of reshaping Canadian society."[3] Generally speaking the movement, to mould religious and social attitudes, has been given the term social gospel.[4] Much of the agitation for reform came from Protestant clergy, people like J.S. Woodsworth, who believed that a truly Christian ministry should work towards improving not only the moral and religious life of the people, but also the social life.[5] Slums, poverty, crime, unemployment, the growing unrest, disillusionment and despair evident in the society Woodsworth felt should be enough to direct the churches toward a social philosophy. The intent was not to destroy the established churches, but to redirect them. Inter-denominational committees were established to facilitate communication, to influence legislators and businessmen, and to more easily affect change.[6] These interfaith committees and the redirection of the churches away from doctrine and towards social gospel philosophy helped the Union movement which culminated in 1925 in the Congregational, Methodist and Presbyterian Churches joining together as the United Church of Canada.

This attempt to bring about fundamental change in the social order through the social gospel and church union movement was not an isolated attempt at reform. The whole populist movement was dedicated to political reform.[7] In the period before World War I a variety of groups formed which agitated for participatory democracy, rather than partisan-style politics. The farmers' movement, evidenced by actions of the United Farmers of Alberta (UFA), was in the forefront of this agitation for political reform which they hoped would bring about economic reform. In Alberta, for example, the non-Partisan League was formed to try and get among other changes, better banking arrangements for farmers. The formation of the Progressive Party was essentially an agrarian revolt against Canadian economic policy and political practise. The disgruntled Western farmer felt that he was being used by the industrial and commercial central regions of the country. The West wanted to be more than a bread-basket for the rest of the country.

Tariffs and railway freight rates seemed to work against the West. Associated with both political and social reform was the woman's suffrage movement, closely linked to the belief that progress toward social perfection was a benefit to home and family life.[8]

This was a time of educational reform as well. Neil Sutherland argues that reformers wanted to make schools both more humane, more child-centred, and more responsive to the way in which children grew, and at the same time more practical and more relevant, teaching skills needed in the workplace.[9] These attempts to alter the purpose and function of the school have been given the label the New Education Movement.[10] These same actions directed toward the rural school were known as the Macdonald Education Movement.[11] The school was seen as a vehicle for integrating the child into the social structure. Compulsory education laws, child labor legislation, and physical health regulations all helped to broaden the role of the school.

Thus we have delineated three movements: the social gospel movement, to improve living conditions and provide a source of upward thrust for the poor and the downtrodden; the populist movement, to achieve political reform and thus improve economic conditions; and the new education movement, to alter the purpose and function of the school, making it more practical and more child-centred. These, although they appear to be distinct and clearly delineated movements, actually interrelated with one another in time and in defined concerns. They also produced or were produced by a bevy of supporting organizations and groups, some with very specific, limited goals, others more broadly defined ones. The purposes of these groups overlapped one another, the leadership was often involved with more than one organization, and any changes that occurred in the society a result of their combined effort. For example, the United Farmers of Alberta and the United Farm Women of Alberta, although primarily organizations to effect economic reform, were also interested in political and educational change. The various temperance groups, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, the Alberta Prohibition League and the Royal Templars of Temperance, although chiefly concerned with prohibiting the sale of alcohol, were also involved in improving the condition of society through social reform, education and the expansion of suffrage. The YM and YWCA's, the Catholic Women's League, the Women's Missionary Societies of the Protestant churches, and the various youth groups, such as Boy Scouts, 4-H Clubs, and Girl Guides were further examples of ancillary social organizations whose tactics and purposes were to improve society generally. Women's Institutes, the National Council of Women, Civic Improvement Leagues, Homemaker Clubs, and service organizations like Kiwanis had programs designed to improve the lot of their own membership as well as the society itself.

Besides these characteristics the movements to reform the society varied because of regional differences and provincial strengths and weaknesses. The problems of industrialization and urbanization had a great influence on the marketplace in central Canada,[12] but weakened the economy in the Maritimes.[13] These two changes had much less effect on the Prairie because of the newness of the frontier and the farming economy. The third change, immigration, was of more concern in the West than elsewhere. As the Prairies became populated the idea of reform, so prevalent in Ontario, was transferred to the West, often before conditions in the West warranted change. Coupled with this perceived need for change were all the problems associated with a frontier society - problems of settlement, of organizing institutions, of adopting some semblance of law and order. The problems of the hinterland were influenced by the reform ideas of the metropole.

One crusade that involved the attention of all three movements for reform in the society, and that engaged the interest of a number of organizations, in total or in part, was the temperance movement. It was also an example of a reform movement that developed elsewhere and whose principles were transferred to the West where frontier conditions seemed to exaggerate the problems temperance advocates wished to obliterate. Spawned early in the nineteenth century it had by the beginning of the twentieth become a world-wide movement, effecting political elections, legislative decisions and societal cohesiveness. It shaped the way people viewed the poor and unfortunate, contributed to the malignment of cities and urban life, and involved governments in the private affairs of individuals and corporations.[15] Gradually, as changes in the society occurred, both because of the temperance movement, and as a reaction to it, the movement itself was transformed from a personalized, individualized solution to intemperance, to a more political, more radical movement, convinced that in government imposed prohibition lay the answer to the ills of society.[16] Determined to control the effects of change, the temperance movement contributed to change by appealing to a political solution.

The Woman's Christian Temperance Union was one group that was a part of this temperance movement. It was the first non-sectarian women's organization to be established in Canada. It came into existence as the problems of intemperance became more visible, and its avowed aim was to return the society to the way of life exemplified by a rural morality. This it would do by eliminating alcohol from the society, and by generally getting involved in social problems. The WCTU was a conservative force in the society, whose members were upset by the rapid changes, which seemed to undermine the middle-class, Anglo-Saxon status they enjoyed. At the same time they were a progressive organization in that they were an example of women leaving the home and venturing into the outside society.

These conflicting elements culminated in what the literature on the history of women calls "maternal feminism," or the extension of women's domestic abilities and responsibilities outside the home. Although women left the home they continued in the world outside the home to be involved in what could be called traditional women's activities - children, education, social welfare etc. These were the kinds of activities they were familiar with, and that they felt capable of handling. William O'Neill in The Woman Movement: Feminism in the United States and England argues that women historically have been associated with religious and church associations, and the expansion beyond the home and church to the care of children, and distressed women, through an organization like the WCTU, was a natural extension of their maternal and religious functions.[17] Patricia Palmieri suggests that this "cult of domesticity" viewed women as victims of an ideology holding them hostage in the home, segregating them from the working world, depriving them of autonomy, and when they did venture outside the home this "cult of domesticity" followed them.[18] They were limited to women's jobs and women's subjects (such as health and education) which according to Eleanor Flexner in Century of Struggle:

The Woman's Rights Movement in the United States politicians and others considered to be in the woman's sphere by virtue of their aptitude, their moral superiority and their experience.[19]

In Canada, Wayne Roberts in an article in Linda Keeley's A Not Unreasonable Claim: Women and Reform in Canada, 1880s - 1920s supports this notion of "maternal feminism" as the underlying reason why suffrage and other reform movements did not make a greater difference to the acceptance of women outside the home.[20] Both the women themselves, and business and professional leaders seemed of one mind about women's role: "The women of today can be found in important positions everywhere, with their tender care and brave hearts ... and wherever they go they carry with them an influence that purifies and refines."[21] Roberts summarizes that this attitude shunted women into specialized job ghettoes: into medicine where they were segregated into Women's College Hospital and encouraged to enter pediatrics; into nursing where they were the helpers of male doctors and where self sacrifice was essential; and into journalism where they became social reporters and edited the women's pages.[22] Although Roberts does not include teaching in his list of dependent professions the dominance of women in elementary school teaching would certainly be another example.[23] This "cult of domesticity" confined the growth of women's concerns and opportunities to areas that best conserved the traditional role and ability of women. The WCTU seems to be an example of an organization of women that both extended and confined women's opportunities.

It is not surprising that education was one of the activities central to the WCTU organization. The society generally had a messianic faith in education, and a variety of organizations and agencies felt that education, but particularly the schools, could save the society.[24] The United Farm Women of Alberta fought for better schooling for rural kids through consolidation, school gardens, and better health care[25]; Women's Institutes felt the road to healthier and happier rural families was through better educated wives and mothers[26]; and other groups wanted playgrounds, better physical surroundings, technical courses and kindergartens as a means of improving the society.[27] As women, WCTU members saw their maternal role as an educational one, and in addition since much of the teaching force in the public schools was female, the extension of the maternal role outside of the home would naturally include education. Like many others of the time period the women of the WCTU had an idealistic belief in the power of education, and therefore it was understandable that they believed that the way to a dry society was through education, both within the public school system, and in the larger society.

The temperance movement in the West began early and increased in membership, in activities and in righteous concern as the number and kinds of drinking establishments increased. The prohibition legislation of 1916 coincided with a liquor industry which had become quite substantial by that year. Introduced into the Northwest Territories by fur traders, alcohol lured the Indians to trading posts and in many cases to their social and economic downfall. Concerned about the extent of intemperance among Indians the federal government introduced prohibition to the Territories in 1870. Under this law no liquor could be manufactured, imported, sold, exchanged, traded, or bartered except by special permission of the Lieutenant Governor.[28] In a country with a very small white population this regulation kept alcohol and beer away from the Indians and Metis, but allowed the white population access via a permit. As immigration increased the application for permits increased, and so did the abuses of the system. It was impossible for the Lieutenant Governor to check each permit for authenticity. Enforcement became very difficult; beer under license was allowed; canteens were established at mounted police posts; and bootlegging and smuggling from the South, especially Fort Benton, Montana, and from the West by way of Donald, B.C.[29] were popular. Prohibition, in effect, was gone, and a poor license system established in its place. In 1892 the Liquor License Ordinance was put in operation and the Territories' early attempt at a prohibitory law was deemed a failure. The prohibition forces had lost the first battle, but the war was far from over.[30]

In an inhospitable land where loneliness and boredom were all too common, hotel bars and saloons offered escape - companionship, relaxation and warmth. Even with increased settlement - with women, children and family life - drinking traditions in a male dominated society were hard to break. Civilization followed families, albeit slowly. Amenities, such as cultural activities, educational facilities, and recreational diversions developed in time. In the meanwhile the bars were central, convenient and inviting. To some families intent on a civilized existence this was the key to the wild, woolly west. Bars seemed more plentiful than schools, libraries and playgrounds. Stories of weekly paychecks disappearing at the local saloon became legendary. Newspaper accounts and stories on life in the West spoke of the drunk in the streets, the suffering of innocent wives and children, the dirty, smelly stand-up bars and the number of arrests directly related to liquor. Robert McLean's dissertation showed that Alberta's brewing industry kept pace with immigration and that in 1915 there were 7 breweries producing strong, malt beer; 250 licensed hotel bars; 11 licensed private clubs (27 in 1914); 427 bartenders; 51 retail liquor stores; 22 travelling salesmen; and 3 railroads serving liquor in dining cars.[31] These figures alone only tell part of the story. The real cause for alarm came from the rate of drunkenness. From 1907 to 1913 there was a significant annual increase in the per capita rate of convictions for drunkenness, for offenses under the Liquor License Ordinance, and for all offences. In 1913 per capita convictions for intoxication were three times higher than 1907. Alberta's rate was triple that of Saskatchewan and double that of the nation as a whole.[32]

Significantly most of these offenses were concentrated in the growing urban areas, Edmonton, Calgary, Medicine Hat. In Booze James Grey observes that: "the fact remains that the large floating single population of the era before the First World War turned the downtown drinking strips of the cities into rowdy and roistering neighbourhoods into which the ordinary citizens hesitated to wander."[33] Businessmen became concerned. Intoxicated workers caused slowdowns, accidents and sloppy workmanship. If payday came in the middle of the week the revelers did not even have the Sabbath to sleep off the results. A Calgary minister estimated that "for every dollar Alberta got for revenue from liquor, it lost $10,000.00 in expense and loss of ~~labour~~ caused by the traffic."[34]

Although early attempts at Prohibition in the Territories had been unsuccessful some temperance sentiment remained and eventually it began to expand, pushed by the changing nature of the society. Increases in the availability of alcohol and in the abuses associated with it continued, but it was rapid immigration which helped the prohibitionists' cause. This it did in two ways. First, it attracted immigrants from Ontario, the United States and Britain who were prohibitionists, which added significantly to the small core of temperance workers already in the area.[35] Secondly, large numbers of non-English speaking immigrants, aliens, came to the West in Sifton's immigration drive. These foreigners presented a challenge: they needed to be taught those particular habits which would make them "good citizens" - thrift, industry and sobriety. The prohibition forces had a new lease on life.

The great waves of immigrants after the turn of the century appeared to intensify the alcohol problem (and most other social problems). Non-English speaking immigrants from Eastern Europe continued the drinking traditions established by the early traders, trappers and Indians. As a response to their alienation and culture shock, and as a relief from harsh labor and living conditions these immigrants turned to alcohol for comfort. Staggering home from a saloon, speaking a foreign language, dressed in strange clothes, smelling of garlic and whiskey these men were an affront to the sensibilities of the Anglo-Saxon prairie settler, especially members of the Methodist, Baptist and Presbyterian churches, who found "booze" an abomination. To them everything that was evil and unpleasant in society had its source in the use of alcohol. Wife-Beating, forced child marriages, the oriental problem, prostitution and gambling among other issues were laid at "John Barleycorn's feet." Across both Canada and the United States the open bar, so visible to the populace, shocked fundamentalist and revivalist church groups.

It was in this atmosphere that the crusade to persuade and eventually legally prohibit citizens from drinking began in earnest in the Territories. Determined to effect prohibition by educating the public to their way of thinking, militant evangelicals meticulously organized and campaigned, sought increased sectarian and public support, and applied political pressure to promote their views. Armed with up-to-date and effective propaganda techniques such as speeches, pledge cards, literature and films, prohibitionists carried on a program of persuasion. One such meeting held in Edmonton in 1915 centered on a documentary film which "followed the steps of the drunkard from the first drink to the finish, when the wife and daughters were dead, the son in prison, and the drunken father dying of delirium tremens."[36] Important to the final outcome of this campaign was the fortuitous timing of its beginnings - coming when great social, economic, moral and political forces were on the rise in Alberta. In an atmosphere of reform sentiment the prohibition campaign flourished. Robert McLean concluded that "evangelical Protestantism, the 'Social Gospel' movement, militant feminism, and the farmers' movement were subsumed under the roof of prohibitionism which all reformers came to regard as essential to the immediate amelioration of their socio-economic problems."[37]

Between the census of 1881 and that of 1921, the urban population of Canada increased in absolute terms from 1.1 million to 4.3 million, and in proportional terms from one-quarter to one-half the total population.[38] Alberta, with Calgary and Edmonton leading the way, participated in this growth. The response to urban growth was varied.

Although progress in literature and the arts, recreational development, architectural growth and general economic advance seemed associated with the rise of cities, so too were the debilitating influences of crime, poverty and illness. In the city all the ills of modern society were concentrated and highly visible and it was there that clergymen, temperance societies and women's organizations began a purification task. According to Paul Rutherford moral reform at this time was an experiment in social engineering, an attempt to force the city dweller to conform to the public mores of the church-going, middle-class rural residents. That mores did not include the saloon, the gambling den or the house of prostitution. Early reformers concentrated on redeeming the urban environment by abolishing these places of temptation and evil.[39] Using a personal approach, believing that individual, moral failure was the cause of evil, reformers attempted, through moral suasion, to dissuade people from drinking.

Gradually as society changed and the temperance movement developed social, scientific, and economic arguments became more important than religious ones. Reformers, besides changing the evidence presented, also changed both their approach and their rationale. Paul Boyer in Urban Masses and Moral Order in America, 1820-1920, called the two kinds of reformers negative and positive environmentalists. The negative group took a repressive stance, urging coercive measures to uproot vice and impose a higher standard of civic virtue. The positive reformers opted for a more subtle and complex process of influencing behavior. Believing that slums, saloons, unemployment and poor living conditions were the cause of inebriety and moral degeneracy they advocated molding character through a transformed, consciously planned urban environment. The city, like the countryside, was to become a healthy place to live. Armed with scientific arguments and up-to-date techniques, marshalling local and state/provincial governments to the cause temperance advocates came to believe that municipal sponsored amusements, tenement reform, park and playground development, civic pageants and city planning would help cities duplicate the moral order and morality of the village. Political reform and political action had become necessary. Only the state, many believed, had sufficient authority to impose order on the immoral city. By the time prohibition became law in various jurisdictions the temperance movement was a mixture of both the personal approach and the environmental one.[40]

In Alberta the interest in temperance reform was revitalized as the time for provincial autonomy approached. The WCTU and the Royal Templars of Temperance (RT of T), an all male organization, joined forces to try to elect temperance men to the new legislature. The resulting Alberta Prohibition Committee began the long campaign to garner support for their cause, and to slowly whittle away at the liquor laws of the province.[41] Eventually the Temperance and Moral Reform League of Alberta was formed, made up of all temperance groups, the evangelical churches, and others interested in this reform. Organized like a political party it began local and province-wide campaigns to restrict the number of licenses, to enforce earlier closing of bars and saloons, and to hold "local option" elections. The League appealed to the government to pass the Direct Legislation Act, which made a plebiscite on the liquor question a distinct possibility. In 1913 with support from the United Farmers of Alberta this legislation was passed and the stage was set for the temperance forces to take their cause directly to the people.[42] The long campaign, the well organized "dry" movement, the unorganized and incredulous "wets," as well as the impact of war resulted in a favorable vote for prohibition in the referendum held on July 21, 1915. The Alberta Liquor Act was proclaimed during the next session of the legislature and took effect July 1, 1916. Prohibition had come to Alberta.[43]

Under the terms of the act liquor could not be sold except for medicinal, industrial, sacramental and scientific purposes. Vendors were licensed for these purposes and druggists and physicians could fill and write prescriptions where necessary.[44] Under a Dominion Order-in-Council the importation of liquor into the Province was prohibited in 1918 for the duration of the war and upheld in 1920 by a subsequent referendum. Although almost all constituencies voted to disallow importation, the reduced majority heartened the pro-alcohol forces.[45] The Moderation League increased its efforts and eventually convinced the government to hold another plebiscite in 1923 giving the voters four choices: Prohibition; private sale of beer and wine; government sale of beer and wine; government sale of all liquors. The fourth option had a substantial majority and the Alberta Liquor Control Board came into effect May 1, 1924. Prohibition had been defeated.[46]

In an editorial after the 1915 referendum the Edmonton Bulletin warned: "... But the people who voted "dry" yesterday must not forget that to place the law on the statute books is only the beginning of work. Good is only attained or maintained by effort."[47] E.H. Oliver, in a book on the liquor traffic commented: "A great victory was won in Alberta on July 21, 1915. Many good people went to their beds that night imagining that henceforth Alberta would remain dry of itself. They were yet to learn that it requires effort and self-sacrifice to consolidate a strong point gained, to retain a victory that has been achieved. The need for temperance education and agitation was by no means gone."[48] The WCTU leaders acknowledged the truth of this statement but found it difficult to rally workers to a cause that seemed secure.

Central to the increase in temperance sentiment in Alberta after 1900 was the WCTU which in the first decade of the century revitalized interest in the problems associated with alcohol, agitated for a Direct Legislation Act, helped organize the Alberta Prohibition Committee and became a vital part of the Alberta Temperance and Moral Reform League. During this time period the WCTU used both the personal approach common to early moral reformers, and the more progressive approach, seeing immorality caused by environment, and education and legislation as the means to correct it. In discussing WCTU activities on the Canadian Prairie prior to 1900 Marcia McGovern concluded that they were essentially conservative in scope, focussing on moral suasion of the individual and on the benevolent aspects of the temperance movement. The main lines of work espoused by WCTU women in the Territories were essentially those outlined by Mrs. Letitia Youmans, the Canadian founder, as the special duties of all members: to pledge themselves to total abstinence; to try to persuade children to pledge abstention; to help the poor; to boycott stores where liquor was sold; to circulate the pledge and encourage people to sign it; and to endeavor to rescue people in trouble.[49] It was a personal, one to one approach to save the individual from himself. By 1915 and the vote on prohibition in

Alberta petitioning, lobbying, pressuring political candidates, allying with other groups, and attempting to influence the educational system were methods advocated by the WCTU. This change in philosophy and tactics proved to be a challenge to the women who had gone public in order to preserve and strengthen family life. Called upon to extend their knowledge and experience into areas beyond the traditional woman's sphere they faltered. As members of the Alberta Temperance and Moral Reform League they helped achieve Prohibition. As an independent organization, with an educational mandate they did not appear to be as successful.

This dissertation, then, is a case study of an organization concerned with education as the prime means of obtaining its goals. It provides an examination of the WCTU in Alberta as an agency seeking social reform through educational means. The inquiry addresses the origin, composition, purposes, tactics, frustrations and achievements of the WCTU as it fought for social change via educational means. Reference to the activities the WCTU used to try to influence both the "formal" and "informal" educational arrangements of the society is necessary in order to provide a complete picture of the WCTU commitment to education to create a dry society.

Therefore an assessment of the WCTU's work with the public school at the provincial level through trying to change departmental policy and at the local school level by trying to influence individual teachers and trustees will be made. The study examines as well the reaction of the school system to pressure for change and the role of the school in the area of social reform. It attempts to show the sensitivity of the school officials to perceived societal concerns and to the related clamor in the society. It examines the extent to which a group, other than the education profession helped initiate and achieve school reform. In so doing it looks at the ease/difficulty with which an outside agency can have an impact on school policy and practise.

As well as work with the public school the study also looks at the attempts the WCTU made to influence some of the other educational agencies of the society. It examines youth groups, the Sunday School, departments devoted to working with adults, the attitude toward the press, as well as lectures and literature. In each of these areas the methodology employed, the materials available, and the effort expanded will be analyzed. An attempt will be made to examine these educational tactics in light of the domestic philosophy of the WCTU. Particular attention will be paid to understanding:

1. the motives, class interests, and purposes of the WCTU organization and its leadership;
2. the relationship between the WCTU and the temperance movement;
3. the connection between a social reform effort and related changes in the public education system;
4. the connection between a social reform effort and the informal educational arrangements of the society;
5. an assessment of the WCTU effort in both formal and informal educational endeavors; and
6. the relationship between an emerging woman's group (WCTU) and education generally.

Although the study centers on Alberta, 1905-1930, when the schools, the WCTU, and the temperance movement were in a period of growth and crises, the study also includes American and Canadian developments prior to 1905 which had an impact on the temperance movement, the WCTU organization, and the society's educational preparations. For example, as early as the 1820's and 1830's temperance societies were plentiful in the United States. By 1830 New York boasted seven hundred temperance societies and a national convention held in Philadelphia in 1833 attracted four hundred representatives from twenty-one states. Hundreds of children's clubs were formed and youthful temperance parades held. A series of laws "to abolish public drunkenness ... not personal or private drinking" was passed by most northern states in the early fifties. The laws were found unconstitutional, were often not enforced, and as the slavery issue heated up, the temperance forces quieted momentarily. The saloons, the public drinking, and the misery caused by alcohol in the eyes of evangelical Christians did not go away however. As the country recovered from the after effects of the civil war, as immigration and urbanization caused an increase both in the number of saloons and the problems of urban life, attention was again focussed on the matter of alcoholic temperance. In this renewed interest women played a vital role.[50]

The Woman's Christian Temperance Union was organized in the United States in 1874, "as an organization of women banded together for the protection of the home, the abolition of the liquor traffic, and the triumph of Christ's Golden Rule in custom and in law." They summarized their intentions as follows: "we declare our purpose to educate the young; to form a better public sentiment; to reform so far as possible, by religious and scientific means, the drinking classes; to seek the transforming power of the divine grace for ourselves and for all for whom we work."[51] The emphasis on moral suasion and on education was clear. They immediately adopted a set of by-laws, drew up a plan of work, organized their activities into departments headed by superintendents, and developed a framework that allowed local, and state unions a great deal of autonomy within the national organization.[52]

The Department of Scientific Temperance Instruction was the major educational arm of the WCTU.[53] In the United States in the twenty year period between 1882 and 1902 the WCTU succeeded in establishing laws in every state compelling some form of Temperance instruction in the public schools.[54] James Timberlake in Prohibition and the Progressive Movement, 1900-1920 argued:

> To what extent temperance instruction contributed to the success of the prohibition movement, it is impossible to say. But that it aided materially in creating dry sentiment can hardly be doubted, for it was during the Progressive Era that children indoctrinated in the scientific argument for temperance first began to reach voting age. Temperance reformers themselves were inclined to credit it with being a major factor in bringing about national prohibition.[55]

The United States Commissioner of Education remarked that in the creation of a sentiment which has resulted in local option, followed by state prohibition and culminating in national prohibition a very important, if not major part, had been played by the schools. "The instruction in physiology and hygiene with special reference to the effects of alcohol ... has resulted first in clearer thinking, and second in better and stronger sentiment in regard to the sale and use of alcoholic drinks."[56] Joseph Gusfield in Symbolic Crusade: Status Politics and the American Temperance Movement concluded that there was much affinity between the schools, the WCTU, and the temperance movement.[57] This will receive a fuller discussion in Chapter 2.

7

Although the WCTU in Alberta emphasized the need for temperance programs in the school, and although the STI in Alberta was active, prohibition occurred without an upgraded course being added to the school curriculum. This suggests that other factors were at work in the province which made a school temperance program unnecessary to the prohibition campaign, and it suggests a different relationship between the WCTU and the schools than was apparent in the U.S.

The educational mission of the WCTU extended beyond the formal public school system to the informal educational influences of the Society. Lawrence Cremin argues that "families, churches, libraries, museums, publishers, benevolent societies, youth groups, agricultural fairs, radio networks, military organizations, and research institutes have shaped thought and character."[58] The WCTU seemed to understand that more than the public school was involved in a total educational effort. Loyal Temperance Legions, Little White Ribboners and "Y"WCTU's were some examples of the attempts at educating youth informally. By meetings, press reports, essay contests, medal awards, Sunday School presentations, picnics and country fair booths the WCTU ladies attempted to indoctrinate the young. Although prohibition was a central goal the organization was also interested in smoking and anti-narcotic legislation, in eugenics and sex hygiene, in the franchise, in family and social reform legislation, in bible reading and the Lord's Prayer in all schools, in eliminating pornography from book stores, in marriage license requirements, in immigrants and citizenship, in supervised playgrounds, and in school savings banks. In all of these areas the WCTU emphasized the importance of a Christian morality generally, and of the virtues of purity, temperance, sobriety and thrift, in particular.

They brought to these programs their belief that if the home and family were in danger because of a changing societal morality, then they, as mothers and wives, had a duty to protect the home.[59] Historians conclude that the major efforts of the organization were in the fields of education and moral suasion. According to Timberlake "compulsory scientific temperance instruction in public schools ... had long been the special province of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union."[60] In an article entitled "Scientific Temperance Instruction in the Schools" published in the History of Education Quarterly, Norton Mezvinsky states that instruction was provided for millions of students.[61] Andrew Sinclair in Prohibition: The Era of Excess suggests that education and moral suasion were the main tactics of the WCTU.[62] Gusfield believes that "the major accomplishments of the organization lay in the fields of persuasion and education," and that this extended beyond the schools.[63] The ladies of the WCTU had a program to reach all segments of the society.

The beginnings of the WCTU in Canada and its organization and development were influenced by American happenings. The WCTU movement in Canada was both an extension of the movement in the United States and a reaction to indigenous social conditions in this country. Evidence points to an excessive consumption of alcoholic liquors in Upper Canada prior to 1840, of public drunkenness, and of men of influence incapacitated during working hours. Led by evangelical churches, many of whom relied on American clergy for their ministry, a temperance movement developed.[64] The formation in Ontario in the 1870's of the first Canadian unions of the WCTU followed as much from what was perceived as a local problem, as from a duplication of American developments. The spread of the organization across the country followed quickly, and by 1886 unions were in existence in towns and cities from coast to coast. The Ontario WCTU was quick to follow the American lead and focus its attention on education - through the schools and through less formal educational practices, as outlined in Chapter 3.

The Northwest Territories branch of the Dominion WCTU was formed in 1903, and its first convention in Calgary in 1904 brought women from fourteen different towns in the Territories - from Grenfell and Regina on the East, Edmonton to the North and Macleod to the South. Following provincial status in 1905 the group became The Alberta and Saskatchewan Provincial Woman's Christian Temperance Union. Growth was steady and at the Convention of 1912 it was decided that the work had grown to such proportions that it could be done much more effectively through two provincial organizations. Alberta and Saskatchewan became separate organizations.[65]

Following in the footsteps of their parent organizations in the United States and Canada, the Alberta and Saskatchewan Unions made education a prominent activity. Louise McKinney in her presidential address to the 25th anniversary convention of the first Territorial union said: "We have carried on a broad program of education among our own people and have given our support to every movement that seemed to contribute to the uplifting of the home life and child life of the nation."[66] Two years earlier McKinney indicated that there was a need for:

> "a broad program of education, not only among the children but among our young people and adults as well, for unless the custom is checked among men and women there is grave

> danger that much of our teaching among the children will be overcome by social usages when they go out into the world to mingle with the social life of the community."[67]

Education was the watchword of the WCTU in Alberta as elsewhere. Chapters 4, 5, and 6 address the growth of the WCTU in Alberta and its educational practices.

The study then includes material that should assist in understanding the WCTU presence in Alberta between 1905 and 1930. Richard Allen suggests that by the end of the twenties the social gospel movement, of which the temperance crusade was the center, was in a decline.[68] This look at the educational role of the WCTU concludes then with 1930, by which time the schools and other educational agencies were concerned with the worsening financial situation caused by the depression and agricultural failures; the WCTU had lost momentum following the defeat of the "dry" bill and the victory for government control in 1923; the temperance movement itself had lost its place as the focus of reform; and the phenomenon of women taking an active part in the world outside the home had lost its thrust.

As the educational component of the temperance movement in Alberta, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union can be allied with turn of the century social and educational reform groups, like the child savers and the "new" education proponents. They eventually adopted what were considered by some to be progressive means to obtain their goals. Why would a group of women, at a time when women were confined to the home for the most part and did not even have the vote, be willing to withstand the abuse of many, including other women, and adopt a fairly progressive stance. The philosophy of the group, the manner in which they viewed themselves and their role, the class of interests they were trying to serve, the moral concerns they had, and their status, age and education should help define them as reformers. Tentatively, they may have viewed their role as housewives and mothers as a moral and educational one, and one which they should and could extend to the whole community. If duty, dignity and self-respect seemed to be losing ground as immigration, urbanization and industrialization increased then perhaps the advanced tactics of the WCTU members were a means of preserving and extending their own way of life and community. The fact that they chose to do so via educational means may tell us something about the relationship between social change and society's institutions and organizations. It may also tell us something about the initial attempts of women to extend their influence beyond the domestic hearth.

First of all, however, it is necessary to discuss the initial beginnings of the organization in the United States, its philosophy, goals, and plans of work. The role of education both within the WCTU and in the broader temperance movement will be included in the discussion of the American occurences in the next chapter.

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER 1

[1] Robert Craig Brown and Ramsay Cook, Canada 1896-1921: A Nation Transformed. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974, p. 1.

[2] Material on immigration, industrialization and urbanization is plentiful: see S.D. Clark, The Developing Canadian Community. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962; W.A. McIntosh, The Economic Background of Dominion-Provincial Relations. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1964; A.R.M. Lower, Canadians in the Making. Toronto: Longmans Canada, 1958; Report of the Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations. Ottawa: King's Printer, 1939; W.T. Easterbrook and Hugh C.J. Aitkin, Canadian Economic History. Toronto: MacMillan Co., 1965. See also N.M. Sheehan, "The Social Aims of Selected English Canadian Educators, 1896-1914," M.Ed. thesis, University of Calgary, 1971, Chapter 1.

[3] Richard Allen, The Social Passion: Religion and Social Reform in Canada, 1914-28. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973, p. 3.

[4] Richard Allen has an excellent explanation of 'social gospel' in the above text. It's important to note that it was a widespread attempt in Europe and North America to revive, develop, apply Christian social insights. It rested on the premise that Christianity was a social religion, concerned with the quality of human relations on earth.

[5] Much has been written on J.S. Woodsworth. Kenneth McNaught, A Prophet in Politics: A Biography of J.S. Woodsworth. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959 is excellent. Woodsworth's own My Neighbour: A Study of City Conditions, A Plea for Justice: 1911 is a contemporary study.

[6] Samuel D. Clark, et al. (eds.), Prophecy and Protest: Social Movements in Twentieth Century Canada. Toronto: Gage Educational Publishing Ltd., 1975, pp. 41-42.

[7] There has been a fair amount of research done on the populist or agrarian movement in Western Canada: W.L. Morton, The Progressive Party in Canada. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1950; William K. Rolph, Henry Wise Wood of Alberta. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1950; Paul E. Sharp, Agrarian Revolt in Western Canada. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1948; Walter D. Young, Democracy and Discontent. Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1969; John Hart, "William Irvine and Radical Politics in Canada," Ph.D. thesis, University of Guelph, 1972.

[8] Catherine L. Cleverdon, The Woman Suffrage Movement in Canada.

Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1950; Ramsay Cook and Wendy Mitchinson (eds.), *The Proper Sphere: Woman's Place in Canadian Society*. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1976; Wendy Mitchinson, "Aspects of Reform: Four Women's Organizations in 19th Century Canada," Ph.D. thesis, York University, 1977; Linda Hale, "The B.C. Woman's Suffrage Movement, 1890-1917," M.A. thesis, University of British Columbia, 1977; Veronica Strong-Boag, "Canadian Feminism in the 1920's: The Case of Nellie L. McClung" *Journal of Canadian Studies* 12, No. 4 (1977), pp. 58-68; Linda Rasmussen, et al. (ed.), *A Harvest Yet to Reap: A History of Prairie Women*. Toronto: Women's Press, 1976; Irene Menzies, "Votes for Saskatchewan Women" in Norman Ward and D.S. Spafford (eds.), *Politics in Saskatchewan*. Don Mills: Longmans, 1968.

[9] Neil Sutherland, *Children in an English Canadian Society: Framing the Twentieth Century Consensus*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976, p. 156.

[10] J. Donald Wilson, et al. (ed.), *Canadian Education: A History*. Scarborough: Prentice-Hall, 1970, p. 301.

[11] IBID, p. 299. The Macdonald Rural Schools Funds (for school gardens); The Macdonald Consolidated School Project; and the founding of Macdonald College of McGill to provide instruction in agriculture, domestic science.

[12] See Robert M. Stamp, "Technical Education, The National Policy, and Federal-Provincial Relations in Canadian Education, 1899-1919," *Canadian Historical Review* LII (Dec. 1971): 404-23, for a discussion of industrialization's effects on the school reformers.

[13] *Royal Commission on Maritime Claims*. Ottawa: King's Printer, 1927, and S.A. Saunders, *The Economic History of the Maritime Provinces: A Study Prepared for the Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations*. Ottawa: King's Printer, 1938.

[14] For a discussion of the frontier and the metropole see: J.M.S. Careless, "Frontierism, Metropolitanism, and Canadian History" in *Canadian Historical Review* XXXV (1), March, 1954; and George F.G. Stanley, "Western Canada and the Frontier Thesis," in *The Canadian Historical Association Reports*, 1940.

[15] For material on the temperance movement see: Brian Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians: The Temperance Question in England, 1815-1872*. London: Faber and Faber, 1971; Joseph Gusfield, *Symbolic Crusade: Status Politics and the American Temperance Movement*. Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1963; John Kobler, *Ardent Spirits: The Rise and Fall of Prohibition*. New York: Putnam's Sons, 1973; and Andrew Sinclair, *Era of Excess: A Social History of the Prohibition Movement*. New York: Harper and Row, 1964.

[16] Paul Boyer, *Urban Masses and Moral Order in America, 1820-1920*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1978, p. 221.

[17] William L. O'Neill, *The Woman Movement: Feminism in the United States and England*. New York: Barnes and Noble Inc., 1969, pp. 33-38.

[18] Patricia Palmieri, "Paths and Pitfalls: Illuminating Women's Educational History," *Harvard Educational Review* 49 (Nov. 1979), pp. 534-541.

[19] Eleanor Flexner, *Century of Struggle: The Woman's Rights Movement in the United States*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1959, p. 326.

[20] Wayne Roberts, "Rocking the Cradle for the World," in Linda Kealey (ed.), *A Not Unreasonable Claim: Women and Reform in Canada, 1880s-1920s*. Toronto: Women's Educational Press, 1979, pp. 15-45.

[21] *Canadian Home Journal* (Aug. 1897), p. 1, quoted in Wayne Roberts, "Rocking the Cradle for the World," p. 31.

[22] Wayne Roberts, "Rocking the Cradle for the World," pp. 34-40.

[23] For a look at women as public school teachers see Alison Prentice, "The Feminization of Teaching," in Susan Trofimenkoff and Alison Prentice (eds.), *The Neglected Majority: Essays in Canadian Women's History*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977.

[24] Society's messianic faith in education has been well documented and the many promoters of free, universal public schooling for all used this argument. See in particular C.E. Phillips, *The Development of Education in Canada*. Toronto: W.J. Gage and Co., 1957, pp. XI-XIII; J. Donald Wilson, et al. (eds.), *Canadian Education: A History* (chapter on Ryerson) and Neil McDonald and Alf Chaiton, *Egerton Ryerson and His Times*. Toronto: Macmillan, 1978.

[25] Leroy John Wilson, "The Educational Objectives and Activities of the United Farmers of Alberta and the Saskatchewan Grain Growers' Association, 1920-1930," Ph.D. thesis, University of Alberta, 1975.

[26] Newspaper clipping in papers of Lillian Bertha Craigie, entitled: "Women's Institutes Have Long Record of Service in Alberta,"; see also *Modern Pioneers, 1909-1959*. British Columbia Women's Institute; and Susan Witter, "An Historical Study of Adult Education in Two Canadian Women's Organizations: The Federated Women's Institute of Canada and the YWCA, 1870-1978," presented to Third Annual Meeting of the *Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women*, Nov. 9-11, Edmonton, Canada.

[27] See Neil Sutherland, *Children in English Canadian Society*, and J. Donald Wilson, *Canadian Education: A History* for examples of attempts to use the schools for a variety of purposes.

[28] F.S. Spence, *The Facts of the Case: A Summary of the Most Important Evidence and Argument Presented in the Report of the Royal Commission on the Liquor Traffic*. Toronto: Newton and Treloar, 1896,

p. 194.

[29] Chronicle of Alcoholic Beverages in the North West Territories and Saskatchewan. Pamphlet in Prohibition File, Archives of Saskatchewan, Regina (hereafter A/S(R)), no author, n.d. circa 1940's, p. 11. See also D.M. McLeod, "Liquor Control in the North West Territories: The Permit System, 1870-1911," in Saskatchewan History, XVI, No. 3, pp. 81-89, and Report of the Royal Commission on the Liquor Traffic, p. 197 which elaborates on the smuggling activities: "It was brought in secreted in packages of merchandise; in tins specially prepared and labelled "bibles"; as canned fruits, a single peach...; in carloads of hogs or lumber, and as eggs.... They had it all over the train. It would be in the berths, on the top, underneath, in front on the engine, on the tender, and where the water was kept."

[30] Report of the Royal Commission on the Liquor Traffic, Sessional Papers (No. 21) 1895. See also Spence, The Facts of the Case, pp. 202-203. The following table indicates the extent of the permit system as the population increased:

Year	White Population	Gallons Imported	Convictions per 1,000	Drunkenness per 1,000
1883	14,027	6,736	2.79	.12
1884	19,928	9,908	4.28	.87
1885	28,192	2,758	3.86	.40
1886	31,011	20,564	5.82	.93
1887	34,112	21,636	2.80	.56
1888	37,523	56,388	3.39	.77
1889	41,275	151,629	4.63	1.02
1890	45,602	153,670	5.00	.85
1891	56,694	121,825	5.60	1.12

[31] R. McLean, "A Most Effective Remedy - Temperance and Prohibition in Alberta, 1875-1915," M.A. thesis, University of Calgary, 1969, p. 42.

[32] Robert E. Popham and Wolfgang Schmidt, Statistics of Alcohol Use and Alcoholism in Canada, 1871-1956. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1958, Appendix I, pp. 54-70. See also R. McLean, "A Most Effective Remedy," p. 42.

[33] James Grey, Booze: The Impact of Whisky on the Prairie West. Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1972, p. 74.

[34] L.G. Thomas, The Liberal Party in Alberta: A History of Politics in the Province of Alberta, 1905-1921. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959, p. 158.

[35] In the decade between 1891 and 1901 the number of persons professing to be members of the Methodist, Baptist, and Lutheran churches increased faster than the rate of increase of the general population. See Census of Canada, 1901, pp. 152-153.

[36] L.G. Thomas, The Liberal Party in Alberta, p. 158.

[37] R. McLean, "A Most Effective Remedy," p. 10.

[38] M.C. Urquhart, Historical Statistics of Canada. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965, pp. 14-15.

[39] Paul Rutherford, "Tomorrow's Metropolis: The Urban Reform Movement in Canada, 1880-1920," CHR Historical Papers, 1971, pp. 203-224.

[40] Paul Boyer, Urban Masses and Moral Order in America, 1870-1920, p. 221. Paul Rutherford claimed, for example, that concern for public health was a good indication of this shift. Vaccinations, pure food, and better living conditions became the watchwords of the reformers.

[41] See Report of the Annual Convention of the Alberta-Saskatchewan Woman's Christian Temperance Union, 1905, pp. 29-30 (hereafter Alta.-Sask. WCTU AR, 1905, pp. 29-30); and R. McLean, "A Most Effective Remedy," p. 53.

[42] R. McLean, "A Most Effective Remedy," p. 88.

[43] For the result of the vote by constituency see Appendix 2.

[44] E.H. Oliver, The Liquor Traffic in the Prairie Provinces. Board of Home Mission and Social Services, Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1923, p. 302.

[45] IBID, p. 304, and Dobson Papers, Box 2, VIA-VIII, Post-War Developments.

[46] The Moderation League was begun by the liquor interests to advocate "moderation" instead of "prohibition." See Calgary Brewing and Malting Co. papers, Box 83, File 650, Glenbow, particularly letters A.E. Cross to Frank J. Clarke, Esq. Nov. 9, 1923 and J.H. Menzies to A.E. Cross, May 8, 1916. For the result of the vote by constituency see Appendix 3.

[47] Edmonton Bulletin, July 22, 1915 editorial "The Boy Wins."

[48] E.H. Oliver, The Liquor Traffic in the Prairie Provinces, p. 301.

[49] Marcia A. McGovern, "Woman's Christian Temperance Union Movement in Saskatchewan, 1886-1930: A Regional Perspective of the International White Ribbon Movement," M.A. thesis, University of Regina, 1977, p. 111.

[50] Norman H. Clark, Deliver Us From Evil: An Interpretation of American Prohibition. New York: W.W. Norton and Co., Inc., 1976,

[51] See Joseph Gusfield, Symbolic Crusade, p. 86, and "The First

Seed in Our History" in Annual Report of the Alberta Woman's Christian Temperance Union, 1929, p. 4 (hereafter Alta. WCTU AR, 1929, p. 4).

[52] See John Kobler, Ardent Spirits, p. 136; Mary Earhart, Frances Willard, From Prayers to Politics. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1944; and Marcia McGovern, "The Woman's Christian Temperance Union."

[53] Norton Mezvinsky, "Scientific Temperance Instruction in the Schools," in History of Education Quarterly 1 (March 1961), pp. 48-56.

[54] Joseph R. Gusfield, Symbolic Crusade, p. 86.

[55] James H. Timberlake, Prohibition and the Progressive Movement, p. 50.

[56] Quoted in the White Ribbon Tidings, April 1920, p. 93 from the Union Signal. The Hon. P.P. Claxton made this statement in a letter to the National Temperance Council at its Prohibition celebration in Washington, D.C., Jan. 15, 16, 1920. See also James H. Timberlake, Prohibition and the Progressive Movement, p. 50.

[57] Joseph R. Gusfield, Symbolic Crusade, p. 86.

[58] Lawrence Cremin, The Wonderful World of Ellwood Patterson Cubberley: An Essay on the Historiography of American Education. New York: Teachers College, Columbia, 1965, p. 48.

[59] This information on the activities of the WCTU comes mainly from the WCTU files at the Glenbow Institute. See also, R. McLean, "A Most Effective Remedy," p. 44ff, and Marcia McGovern, "Woman's Christian Temperance Union," pp. 111-112.

[60] James Timberlake, Prohibition and the Progressive Movement, p. 48.

[61] Norton Mezvinsky, "Scientific Temperance Instruction in the Schools," p. 56.

[62] Andrew Sinclair, Era of Excess, pp. 43-46.

[63] Joseph R. Gusfield, Symbolic Crusade, p. 86.

[64] See M.A. Garland and J.J. Talman, "Pioneer Drinking Habits and the Rise of Temperance Sentiment in Upper Canada Prior to 1840," in M.F.H. Armstrong, et al. (eds.), Aspects of Nineteenth Century Ontario. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974; R.D. Wadsworth, Temperance Manual. Montreal, 1847; "Pelham Youths' Temperance Society" in St. Catherine's Journal, 1836; and Charles Rowell Wood, "The Historical Development of the Temperance Movement in Methodism in Canada," B.D. thesis, Victoria University, 1958.

[65] Alta. WCTU AR, 1929, p. 33, and Alberta WCTU, The Story of

the Years, 1913-1963, Glenbow.

[66] Alta. WCTU AR, 1929, p. 49.

[67] Alta. WCTU AR, 1929, pp. 29-30.

[68] Richard Allen, The Social Passion, pp. 282-283.

CHAPTER 2

THE WCTU MOVEMENT AND TEMPERANCE EDUCATION:
THE UNITED STATES

The Woman's Christian Temperance Union began in the United States as an organization of women pledged to protect home and family from the evils of the saloon and bar which by the 1870's were viewed with increasing dismay by more and more Americans. Organized into "departments of work" it was able to attract both conservative and progressive women to its ranks and to the variety of causes it represented. One of the important departments was Scientific Temperance Instruction which encouraged and eventually legislated schools and teachers to provide temperance instruction. The role of the schools in the temperance crusade, although strengthened and made explicit by the WCTU's involvement, was not a totally new phenomena. The McGuffey Readers, with their strong, temperance sentiment had set the precedent. The WCTU spread rapidly across the country and in its quest for a dry society was successful in 1919. This was the nadir of the organization. Following repeal it declined in both kind and numbers of members, and in philosophy.

ORIGINS OF TEMPERANCE

The growth of the temperance movement in the early years of the nineteenth century in the United States needs some explanation. Liquors, wines, and beers had been a part of all societies and although many people drank heavily this was not considered a matter of great personal or social concern through the revolutionary years. Dr. Benjamin Rush was the first doctor to begin to correlate the drinking of alcohol with "vices, diseases ... suicide, death, the gallows." Thomas Jefferson, impressed by Rush's view, cultivated a keen interest in wines, and very gradually a spirit which viewed hard liquor as a bad thing began to grow.[1] Norman H. Clark in Deliver Us From Evil: An Interpretation of American Prohibition suggests that in the early 1800's the United States was an alcohol-soaked culture caused by increasing technology which made distilled spirits readily available, and by a "pervasive and relentless sense of personal anxiety." He argues that "in the years after 1814, Americans knew few of the certainties which are secured by an established religion, a sense of organic community, and a strong government."[2] The opening of the frontier, the migration of thousands of people westward, the growth of factories and the beginnings of European migration created a sense of instability. It was in this atmosphere of anxiety that the abuse of alcohol became noticeable, and it was in this atmosphere of instability that the movement to control and eventually prohibit Americans from drinking began to grow. Encouraged by the spread of missionary religions with their anti-drink beliefs temperance reform spread across the country becoming an evangelical movement using pledge-signing, songs, verse, and revival meetings, and aiming clearly at individual salvation. The American Society for the Promotion of Temperance, and the Washington Temperance Society are examples of early temperance organizations. In these early years the movement was temperate in its goals - some arguing for the moderate use of alcohol, others for the elimination of hard liquor only.[3] By the end of the third quarter of the century temperance reform had been integrated into the spirit of many citizens and was thought to be necessary if decent citizens, especially women and children were to prosper. It was at this juncture that the WCTU developed.

WCTU - PHILOSOPHY AND ORGANIZATION

Philosophy

The Woman's Christian Temperance Union was at one and the same time both a conservative and a progressive organization. Formed in Cleveland in 1874 it was an organization of women, disassociated from allegiance to any church. Begun as a society that urged total abstinence through moral suasion and the power of prayer, it managed to retain some of this conservative element despite a later change in philosophy. The conservative approach was an attempt to hold on to the past, and to the puritanical values of an earlier era. This approach was reflected in the attention paid to personal character rather than institutional arrangements; in missionary efforts to convert sinners; in revivalistic services held in major cities; and in the attention paid to trying to control the behavior of the inhabitants of the lowest rungs of the social ladder.[4] The first president, Annie Wittenmyer, rejected all attempts to have the WCTU support broader social reforms. Frances Willard, however, the second president and eventual world leader of the organization, believed in a "Do-Everything" policy, from woman's suffrage, dress reform, cremation and vegetarianism to Christian Socialism, the Populist Party and the Labor movement.[5] These more progressive activities reflected the idea that poverty and crime were caused by intemperance, poor living conditions, little education and menial jobs, and the elimination of these conditions needed legal, political and social support structures, as well as voluntary methods.

This conservative and progressive approach existed simultaneously in the WCTU. Although on one hand it meant that membership was available to all kinds of women - both those who viewed women's roles to be in the areas of moral suasion and charitable works and those interested in more progressive goals and tactics like suffrage reform and political involvement. This mixture of conservative and progressive philosophy, goals and tactics is the key to understanding the prominence, success and strength of an organization that had as its main goal the prohibition of the liquor traffic - an issue that was unpopular in many places, at various times and to certain people.

The WCTU rationale was expressed this way: "It is an organization of Christian women banded together for the protection of the home, the abolition of the liquor traffic, and the triumph of Christ's Golden Rule in custom and in law."[6] The emphasis on the "protection" of the home, and of children, was the aspect of WCTU strategy that enables many women to become members. They might not like the idea of prohibition, but if prohibition means protection then they were true members of the movement.

Beginnings

The WCTU actually grew out of a series of Women's Temperance Crusades which began in Ohio in 1873 and quickly spread to twenty-three states, notably Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and upper-state New York. An Ohio State Liquor Law allowed mothers and wives of drunkards to sue saloonkeepers and liquor vendors who sold alcohol to inebriated sons and husbands. A number of court cases was successful and a small band of articulate, educated, middle-class women began to see themselves as a force in the community. They organized demonstrations at courthouses and hotel bars, and campaigned to have women and children invade saloons - holding prayer meetings inside, or camping outside in an attempt to persuade innkeepers, saloon-goers and local licensing boards of the evils of alcohol. These early campaigns were locally organized, often spontaneous, and were successful in closing hundreds of saloons, at least temporarily.[7]

Probably the more far reaching effect of these Crusades was on the women themselves. They served as an example of the strength of women; encouraged women in over three hundred communities to organize local temperance unions; and revitalized women's concern for temperance reform. In the summer of 1874 many of these women met at Chautauqua, New York, agreed upon a national organization and formed the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union.[8] Its first convention in Cleveland in November 1874 drew up this pledge: "I hereby solemnly promise, God helping me, to abstain from all distilled, fermented, and malt liquors including wine, beer, and cider, and to employ all the proper means to discourage the use of and traffic in the same." "For God and Home and

Native Land" became the motto, as a constant reminder to WCTU members of the purpose and magnitude of their cause. A badge of white ribbon became the symbol of membership and a sign of the purity of the cause which they represented.[9] The purity symbol, the religious atmosphere and the protection motto meant that women who otherwise might not have joined a non-sectarian organization thought that the WCTU was a noble, God fearing, righteous group.

Although more and more women were being educated, and had free time, activity outside of the home was generally confined to work with church groups. This direct action by women to close saloons, and the formation of an organization to help accomplish this end "was shocking by the rules of middle-class female conduct of the time."[10] The formation, growth, and development of this organization must be seen in the totality of the environment which spawned it - an environment which included an inordinate use of alcohol, a temperance movement, a debate over the legal, social and political rights of women, the growth of evangelical churches, westward expansion, urbanism and industrialization.[11] It was at one and the same time both a movement to retain the strict, moral code of the Victorian era, and a movement which pushed for progressive, radical changes in social and political thought and activity.

Membership

Just as the organization itself was one of conflicting ideas and purposes so were the women who joined the WCTU. A wide segment of Protestant women adopted a conservative reform position. They accepted the Victorian code of ethical and social conduct and were opposed to reforms that would change the existing social and political structure. These were anti-feminists, women opposed to dress reform, women's suffrage and to the spread of new ideas regarding physical exercise, marriage, sex, family life and child rearing. They supported reforms that were designed to improve the character of the individual. They believed in the power of education and moral suasion. They wanted to protect the home and family by convincing drunkards and saloon keepers of the evil of their ways. This could be accomplished by prayer, revivalistic services and good example.[12]

The movement also appealed to a group of feminists who were opposed to the maintenance of traditional values, particularly those which appeared to make women subservient to and the property of men. The leaders in this movement were often professional, well-educated, middle-class women. They were interested in improved factory conditions, universal adult suffrage, dress reform, physical exercise for women, better medical treatment, safe forms of contraception, less stringent attitudes toward sex and marriage and increased educational and professional opportunities. They were also interested in temperance and prohibition because of the effect that drunkenness and debauchery had on women and children.[13]

In between these two groups were the great majority of members, women who adopted or promoted the evangelical stance - that progress, equality, prosperity and moral perfection could be attained within the basic social and moral premises of the Victorian code. Any reform that would help improve society morally, or convert the individual to a life of grace had to be good. It had, by its very nature to "be both good and respectable...." For example, women's suffrage was good and worthy of promotion, not because it would have women compete with men, but because it would give women a means to protect their home and their children from the evils of sin.[14] These women believed they could change the social and political framework via women's suffrage, while retaining the moral and social conduct of the Victorian way of life. This argument for moral control can be compared with the ideas of the early school reformers who advocated free, compulsory, universal schooling as a means of social control.

That women of such differing views and political beliefs could be attracted to the one organization tells us something about both the opportunities for women and the organization itself. The nineteenth century was one of expansion of educational facilities for both men and women, and expansion of the industrial classes of the nation. This meant that the middle class portion of the society increased and that many women within this middle class had received a substantial amount of education. They needed an outlet for their talents, their energies, and the education they had received. Some, like Frances Willard, the WCTU leader, became professional women and the leaders in social and moral movements. In general these women could be characterized as residents of small towns, born of a ministerial or reform family, single, widowed, or married late in life with few children, who moved westward and obtained jobs in areas where skills were scarce, in fields like medicine, journalism and temperance.[15]

A second type of woman attracted to the WCTU was the educated, middle or upper class woman whose husband was wealthy enough to support her. Believing that the woman's role was in the home, these ladies, out of boredom, or benevolence, or religious zeal, or fear of change, joined the growing Union. Both the development of evangelical churches and the spread of education had a hand in sharpening women's reform interests. The churches were involved in many activities: abolition of slavery, foreign missions, homes for repentant prostitutes, prison-reform, temperance campaigns, etc. These were respectable causes and the women learned organizational skills and became sharpened in the art of protest, all for the glory of God and the church. It was not a large step to the WCTU with its religious environment, its purity symbol and its "protective" aims. It was a respectable organization and in the early years the only reform organization outside the churches open to women.[16]

The other impact on women came from increased educational opportunities. The expansion of public and secondary schools and the opening of colleges to women both contributed to the feminization of the teaching force. Women, now not only had the education to awaken them to social and political inequities, their experience in the teaching force opened their eyes to the injustices of the male dominated society. They came in contact with large numbers of children who were the victims of "the drunkenness, ignorance and squalor of their parents." They saw first hand the effect of unemployment, disease, poverty, squalor, and intemperance on their pupils. Thus, the WCTU formed at a propitious time, pushed into being by changes in the industrial and educational opportunities of the country which both enabled women to see the need for change and at the same time gave them the wherewithal to do something about it.[17] The kind of organizational framework that they adopted facilitated their ability to attack a number of reforms.

Organizational Framework (Departments of Work)

Women of diverse religious and political views were attracted to the WCTU because of the organizational thrust of the Union. At the 1874 convention in Cleveland the delegates, in addition to pledging themselves to the destruction of the liquor traffic, also affirmed their belief in a living wage for all workers, an eight-hour day, equal civil rights for both sexes and a single moral standard.[18] As the organization developed "departments of work" were established. These included Penal and Reformatory Work, where the WCTU led a move to hire policewomen and to segregate male and female prisoners[19]; a Social Purity Department, interested in harsher penalties for white slavers, the establishment of rehabilitation centers for penitent prostitutes, and an increase in the age at which girls could legally consent to intercourse; and a Department of the White Cross and Shield whose members pledged themselves "to uphold the law of purity as equally binding on men and women; to be modest in language, behavior and dress; to avoid all conversation, reading, pictures, and amusements which may put impure thoughts into the mind; and to strive after the special blessing promised to The Pure in Heart."[20] The above departments demonstrate the "protection" theme and the maternal role of women outside the home.

Eventually forty-five departments were in existence involving women in work among Colored People, Foreigners, Railroad Employees, Lumbermen and Miners and Indians. If a member was not enthused about any of these perhaps she could devote herself to anti-narcotics, to the Franchise, or to the Peace and International Department. Women concerned about alleged polygamy in Utah could join the Department for

Work among Mormon women. The elimination of gambling, with particular attention to racetrack habituées was the concern of the Department of Christian Citizenship. Those worried by Sunday activities flooded the country with petitions decrying "the use of the mails, travel by train, steamboat or bicycle, the publication of newspapers, getting a haircut, unnecessary labor and entertainment of any kind on Sunday." Departments that demonstrated links between crime and alcohol, that called upon clergy to confine their sacramental beverage to grape juice, and that induced corporations to require total abstinence in their employees operated.[21] Most women could find some department within the WCTU that appealed to their reform interests, their educational background and their philosophy. Given the broad nature of the reforms and the diverse views of women it is understandable why the WCTU had such broad appeal.

Three areas of work require special mention. The appeal of these three departments was broad; the outcome tended to be fairly successful; and they, more than the others, operated at the political level in the society. The movements for Prohibition, Female Suffrage and Scientific Temperance Instruction involved a change in the political, social and educational arrangements of the society. They were the most progressive of the departments of work. In the beginning the Woman's Christian Temperance Union was for abolition of the liquor traffic, but by persuasive means. Gradually as other organizations began to form the leaders began the long struggle for prohibition by means of government legislation. Local option, state prohibition and finally national prohibition became the goals of the Union. Allying themselves at varying times with other political and temperance organizations, in particular the Prohibition Party in the 1890's and the Anti-Saloon League after the turn of the century, the ladies fought for direct legislation which would outlaw the manufacture, sale, and consumption of alcoholic beverages. The 18th amendment, commonly known as the Volstead Act, was passed in September, 1919 and nation-wide prohibition came into effect. The WCTU knew its finest hour. As one author concluded, "the most important thing about Prohibition to many people was to have the federal constitution and the law of the land condemn alcohol, and by indisputable implication, so condemn all that the alcohol-soaked lifestyle represented."[22] To the ladies of the WCTU national prohibition was proof not only that they were correct about alcohol, but also about the other reforms that they advocated. It was a symbolic as well as a real victory.

The women's movement and the WCTU have a curious history, one using the other for support. For example, active feminists welcomed the formation of the WCTU because it was the first and only female organization in the 1880's. Many of these feminists supported temperance because they could argue legitimately that support for temperance and support for the franchise went hand in hand. If women were to be successful with local option campaigns and prohibition votes generally, then the extension of the franchise to women was necessary. If the women were to obtain the vote then support from the largest, most active woman's group would help.[23] A Franchise Department was established which advised and aided suffrage groups. Besides this work the WCTU was active in a number of movements which attempted to gain greater equality for women. As well as the prison reform work mentioned earlier, it also championed women as ecclesiastical delegates and ministers; it criticized the double standard of morality as it applied to both sexes; it encouraged retention of their identity by the use of Christian names, particularly for married women; and it advocated comfortable clothing, free movement and exercise for the "weaker" sex.[24]

Scientific Temperance Instruction (STI)

The third department of note in the WCTU was the Department of Scientific Temperance Instruction (STI). Organized in 1880 under Mrs. Mary Hunt of Massachusetts, this department cajoled, bullied and persuaded Congress and the State legislatures into passing laws compelling some form of temperance instruction in the public schools. By stumping for temperance candidates, bombarding legislators with petitions and attending open hearings on a proposed bill, Mrs. Hunt and her committee managed to get STI into the schools. Strong scientific temperance legislation with stringent curricula and teaching requirements and penalties for non-enforcement became the norm. The National Education Association endorsed the campaign.[25] However, laws alone were not enough. Mrs. Hunt and her committee proceeded to get the hygiene and physiology textbooks rewritten to conform to their view of alcohol education. They suggested that the syllabus "should teach that alcohol was a poison, should advocate total abstinence, and should avoid all references about the medical use of alcohol." This syllabus, accompanied by a petition signed by over two hundred leading citizens, congressmen, educators, chemists, medical authorities and religious leaders, was presented to textbook publishers. By 1892 there were twenty-three endorsed textbooks. Ten years later there were an additional ten volumes. By the time the Volstead Act was passed in 1919 at least two generations of American youngsters had been exposed to STI in the schools.[26]

Critics concluded that the quality of the teaching was poor. They argued that it was an attempt to indoctrinate the school children to one point of view, and that there could "be no indoctrination without misrepresentation." The Committee of Fifty,[27] organized as a group of scholars and businessmen interested in temperance, carefully examined the twenty-three endorsed textbooks. They found many statements they believed to be both frightening and misleading:

> A cat or a dog may be killed by causing it to drink a small quantity of alcohol. A boy once drank whiskey from a flask he had found, and died in a few hours....
>
> Alcohol sometimes causes the coats of the blood vessels to grow thin. They are then liable at any time to cause death by bursting....
>
> It often happens that the children of those who drink have weak minds or become crazy as they grow older....[28]

Medical and educational experts contributed extreme views according to the Committee. A doctor was cited as telling high school students that "any quantity of alcohol in any form was toxic and when consumed regularly produced inheritable disorders into the third generation." To the Dean of Medicine at Michigan was attributed the following: "idiocy, deafness, and other defects of the nervous system are painfully common in children of the intemperate."[29] These "misleading, erroneous and frightening" statements, along with kindergarten type ditties such as "Tremble, King Alcohol, we shall grow up," and moral stories about the drunkard and the abstainer caused STI to be severely criticized.[30] This criticism came from the popular press, from medical experts and from teachers and educators who abhorred not only the misrepresentation, the poor experiments, the exaggerations, but also the attempt to bring about a moral reform under the guise of science.[31]

Mrs. Hunt had authority and tradition on her side and in a circular in defense of her position, consisting of reports from a committee of physicians, the endorsation by numerous Protestant churches and the backing of temperance organizations, mounted her attack. She wrote and distributed various pamphlets and papers containing medical and scientific support. As state departments of education, schools and teachers fell into line Mrs. Hunt was vindicated. Each year the number of children receiving some form of STI grew. Mrs. Hunt, who died in 1906 and turned over a very successful department to Mrs. Edith Smith Davis, was convinced "that there was no room for any scientific defense of the moderate use of alcohol." She believed that the only medical evidence deemed "scientific" was that which supported the prohibition of liquor.[32] The schools seemed to have been successfully recruited to the temperance campaign.

ROOTS OF TEMPERANCE EDUCATION

Temperance in Early Textbooks

Why was the textbook campaign, the legislative work, and STI generally, so successful in the U.S.? To understand the mentality of the "drys" and their ability to convince others (moderates and wets) of the necessity of the educational treatment of alcohol we must go back to the McGuffey readers and the pietous, moral, decent life they portrayed. Ruth Miller Elson in Guardians of Tradition: American

Schoolbooks of the Nineteenth Century stated that the purpose of nineteenth century American public schools was to train citizens in character and proper principles. She believed that textbook writers were "much more concerned with the child's moral development than with the development of his mind." The important problem for nineteenth century American educators was "to mold the wax of virtue rather than in learning."[33] Of the textbooks used in early America the McGuffey readers were considered the most influential. Between 1836 and 1920 approximately 120 million copies of McGuffey's readers were used. In addition to using the Readers to teach students to read and to spell, McGuffey also sought to build character and instill Christian values.[34] "They were special pleaders for temperance, sobriety and the Protestant ethic in all its attributes" concluded Gusfield.[35]

Temperance was heartily endorsed by McGuffey and others. However, temperance meant, not moderation in all things, but only in the use of alcoholic beverages. Secondly, temperance did not mean moderation, but total abstinence. The readers were full of stories whose melodrama would catch the child's imagination, showing how the drinking habits of one member of the family (usually the father) lead to poverty, ruin, and death for the rest of the family. A lesson in one of the early fourth readers, according to Richard Mosier in Making the American Mind, tells the story of Jane Harwood, who had borne a sick child and keenly aware of his affliction, made very effort to overcome his initial defects. The father, however unkind and intemperate, treated his son roughly. After the child's death, the mother hoped that the father would repent his unkindness and his vicious taste for whisky. But such was not to be as he soon forgot his son's death and returned to his old habits, drinking more than ever. "Intemperance had destroyed his respect for man and his fear of God," concluded the readers.[36]

The disaster caused by one drink was a constant theme. Liquor, in these instances, appeared to have magical qualities. There were innumerable tales of the disastrous effects of a single drink taken on a social occasion. Inevitably it changed even a successful and contented man into a drunkard, who ended up in complete mental, moral, and marital ruin. One story spoke of a ragged, old man who had become so because "his father gave him a drink to taste, and he became a sot, and got drunk, and beat his nice wife." On another occasion ruin was caused because the gentleman "stood treat" while running for political office.[37] That first drink also led to other vices, abhorred by McGuffey. One story told of a Tom Smith who, after one drink, began to associate with bad companions, to gamble, and to steal. "Instead of spending his evenings in reading ..., he would go to the theater, to balls and to suppers...." Of course playing cards for money resulted from such disreputable behavior and Tom had become a thorough reprobate.[38]

Another theme was that intemperance wasted time and money, leading not only to the downfall of the individual, but to national disaster as well. Alexander the Great was depicted as losing his life and his empire through intemperance: "How shocking it is to the mind, that a man who had subdued so many nations, should suffer himself to be conquered by the sin of intemperance. It is a lamentable truth, that intemperance kills more than the sword."[39] Another text continued: "The sword has slain its millions, yet, awful reflection, strong drink more!" The downfall of the Indian was attributed to rum, not the rifles of the army.[40] Drinking, in the reader, was viewed as a national disaster because it was a major cause of poverty, as well as crime, filling the almshouse as well as the penitentiary with its victims.

God, of course, punished vices, particularly intemperance. One wine-drinker tossed his empty cup out of the window, killing his son. Another was so full of alcohol that he exploded when attempting to light his pipe. A third, even more far fetched story, recounted the drunken fisherman being pulled into the water by the duck on his line.[41] According to McGuffey and other readers, intemperance caused the poverty and death of loved ones; it ruined careers and nations; it led to other vices like gambling, stealing, and playing cards; and it led to damnation both in this life and eternally.

If temperance teaching had a prominent place in the schoolbooks it must have reflected a concurrent movement in the society itself. As indicated earlier such a movement was underway by 1830 and children were often used as indoctrinators. For example in 1836 a Cold Water Army of Sunday School pupils was formed who repeated poetic pledges such as:

> I do not think
> I'll ever drink
> Whiskey or Gin,
> Brandy or Rum,
> Or anything
> That will make drunk come.

Children marched in parades, attended temperance rallies suitably adorned with blue (for boys) or white (for girls) ribbons and with temperance badges. Led by Neal Dow of Maine most northern state legislatures passed temperance laws.[42] How much the McGuffey readers had to do with these laws is difficult to determine, but the sentiment produced by temperance stories must have been a factor in the children's clubs, parades, and abstinence pledge cards promoted by schools and the children. Sinclair argued that the texts taught the virtues of thrift, labor, obedience, duty to God, and temperance. He concluded "that they helped to create the climate of decency and informed prejudice which made the passing of prohibition legislation possible." McGuffey, according to Sinclair, was more interested in bringing some form of civilization to the frontier through the schoolhouse than he was in eliminating the trade in alcohol. He attacked drunkenness as an evil, harmful to the nation, and to the individual.[43] In other words, reliance on temperance virtues was one method of producing the restrained, dutiful and civilized child. All the virtues in the McGuffey readers supported and promoted the same end - decency, piety and morality.

The role of women in the temperance textbooks was twofold. Women were the victims of intemperance, suffering disease, poverty and death because husbands and fathers drank away their money, lost their self-control, and treated them poorly. Mothers dying of heartbreak or anguish, children being illtreated, and suffering mental deficiencies, wives, battered and bruised by intemperate husbands, and homes being broken up were constant themes.[44] The second way women were portrayed by McGuffey was as the saviors of men, particularly the drunken, wayward man. A typical story concerned a William Wirt who had lost his first wife because of his intemperance. He approached a Miss Gamble with an offer of marriage, only to be refused until he stopped drinking. A second proposal was treated the same way. Finally, determined to reform, he swore off alcohol and they lived a happy and successful life. The lesson concluded: "How many noble minds might the young ladies save, if they would follow the example of the heroine-hearted Miss Gamble, the friend of humanity, of her country, and the relation of Lafayette."[45]

If women like Miss Gamble in the McGuffey reader had some influence over the drinking habits of men, then the Women's Crusades and the Woman's Christian Temperance Union were not such sudden phenomena. For years McGuffey had told girls in public and high schools that they made a difference. Put in this context the Crusades and the Union followed a natural progression. It must have seemed clear to women, that like Miss Gamble, they could do much to fight the evil of rum and the demon of whisky. The Woman's Christian Temperance Union was the result of the development and growth of education, the feminization of the teaching force, the industrialization of the society, the evangelical movement, and the treatment of women as succors of men in the school textbooks.

Perhaps, the treatment of temperance in the McGuffey and other readers also led the women to the formation of the department of Scientific Temperance Instruction. If the school reader could be used successfully as a vehicle in promoting temperance, what might be accomplished by using the school curriculum in a more direct way. The McGuffey Readers did not do enough. The temperance teaching in the school needed to be increased and made explicit. Hygiene and Physiology textbooks needed to be rewritten and expanded so that medical knowledge of temperance was included. And not content to leave the content to the textbook authors and publishers, nor the teaching of it to the whim of the teachers they pushed laws through state and federal legislatures and successfully advocated "WCTU endorsed" textbooks only. Under the leadership of the WCTU the schools had become intrinsically involved in the temperance campaign.

Temperance and Science

The change from the McGuffey type of temperance teaching to that of Hunt's approved hygiene texts can best be understood in the interest that developed in progress and scientific experimentation.[46] It was the beginning of the development of scientific techniques and certainly, after 1900 at least, professional educators wanted to put the latest educational and scientific theories into the schools. As Cremin explained in Transformation of the School one of the aims of progressive education was to develop pedagogical theories in line with the latest in psychological and scientific findings. Another aim was to broaden the program and function of the school to include direct concern for health, vocation, and the quality of family and community life.[47] The STI program fitted the new functions of the school. The latest scientific experimentation had produced a number of theories regarding the physiological effects of alcohol. The new studies demonstrated that even the moderate consumption of alcohol could cause serious damage to the brain, nervous system, and other bodily organs; that it lowered the body's resistance to infection; and that it was responsible for one-fourth of the cases of insanity in the United States. Gone was the belief that alcohol possessed both nutritive and medicinal qualities. Parental alcoholism came to be considered a "factor in four classes of mental retardation in children: idiocy and imbecility, epilepsy, feeble-mindedness, and less severe mental deficiency." Scientific evidence also seemed to prove that intemperance could be inherited.

"Parental inebriety, especially in the mother, was frequently responsible for the child inheriting a defective mental and physical organism that later led to intemperance."[48] As scientists came to hold that even moderate drinking should be regarded as excessive, the attitude of many underwent a change. Some have argued that it was the scientific argument against moderate drinking that was of decisive importance in changing public attitude towards liquor. As insurance companies revealed that drinkers generally had a significantly higher mortality rate than abstainers; as social workers gathered statistics which showed a correlation between drinking and poverty, crime, prostitution, venereal disease, suicide, broken homes, battered children and marital trouble; and as medical doctors began to suspect intemperance as a factor in poor health and survival rates the arguments favoring total prohibition began to gain in favor.[49] The school and the STI program were instrumental in popularizing the scientific argument against moderate drinking and in favor of total prohibition.

Although many scientists and educators labelled the textbooks as inaccurate, distorted and exaggerated, Mary Hunt and her committee were able to defend their position. It has been suggested that the speed and ease with which the STI program became widely accepted as "infallible" was the effect of psychological conditioning, indoctrination, and religious fervour. The earlier McGuffey readers and others had set the psychological tone by quietly indoctrinating the evil results of drunkenness. Minds had been pre-conditioned; scientific proof did the rest. Almost one hundred years of McGuffey type temperance teaching, and the influence of a majority of the Protestant churches culminated in the age of science, the Progressive era, with nation-wide

STI in the schools. People who had been conditioned to feel guilty and ashamed of taking a drink were now being taught that scientific evidence supported the idea of total abstinence.[50] Cremin explained the changes in the schools as "Progressivism in education: a many sided effort to use the schools to improve the lives of individuals."[51] The WCTU members certainly applied this to temperance teaching, and used religious, psychological, and scientific arguments to try to enforce their beliefs on others. The next step, the outcome of scientific and educational developments was to outlaw liquor and impose legal and social control on those too weak or unbelieving to use self control.

Advent of Legislation

As temperance reform developed it underwent changes in philosophy as well as methodology. Joseph Gusfield talks about two main strands of reform activity, assimilative and coercive: "The assimilative strand was marked by sympathy of the righteous toward those too weak to help themselves. In a tone of missionizing humanitarianism, the assumption was made that the object of reform was suffering. He wished to be saved but could not help himself.... The second strand ... is coercive rather than assimilative, hostile rather than missionizing.... Faced with sinners who refuse to define themselves as such ... the reformer is shocked and appalled. The object of his reform is a hostile enemy who must be coerced through legislation...."[52] The program of the WCTU was both assimilative and coercive. It attempted "to persuade the drinker and the child of the drinking family that such conduct was harmful and immoral."[53] This tactic was not good enough, however, and a coercive technique was demanded. Legislation became necessary.

Paul Boyer described changes within the movement as a shift from negative to positive environmentalism. He labelled Gusfield's assimilative and coercive strands as negative ones, judging them to be repressive stances, either personal or legislative, to save the individual. This positive approach shifted the blame for drunkenness from individual character defect to unfavorable social conditions. In this context, the solution to social evils along the line of trying to reform the individual was no longer acceptable; rather the environment itself must be changed so as to evoke desired behavior. If the saloon and the slums were removed, if unemployment lessened and recreational and cultural activities were available social problems like drunkenness would disappear. Boyer's argument was that the combination of both these attitudes toward reform had the best chance of success.[54] As far as the public school program of the WCTU was concerned the emphasis was on the negative aspects of reform - conditioning the child to believe alcohol was evil. Outside the schoolroom, other aspects of the organization emphasized a positive program - coffee houses, reading rooms, improved prisons, playgrounds, and proper living conditions were aspects of the WCTU work which could be labelled "positive environmentalism."

Prohibition, of course, did not last and its repeal in 1933 had a profound effect on temperance reform generally and the WCTU in particular.[55] It experienced both a real and a symbolic change in status. The standards upheld by the women were no longer regarded as norms worthy of emulation and respect but had, instead, become objects of ridicule and contempt. The support from the Protestant churches was withdrawn and the organization became isolated from the mainstream of American society. It is not surprising then to find both a decline in membership and a change in the type of woman drawn to the Union. The members noted the loss of women of prominence and high social status, and the change in status of the new leadership. They began to be seen as a fanatical organization, an organization identified with social and moral tyranny, rural conservatism and bigotry.[56] The decision not to adjust their goals and doctrines to the "new" society meant that they were increasingly outside the mainstream and actively against "modern" programs. They opposed, for example, fluoridation of water, a national mental health plan, new educational methods, new ideas regarding child-rearing, psychiatry, and the use of new drugs and vitamins.[57] From an organization that was vital and growing, that was in the forefront of social reform, that appealed to an army of women of the middle and upper classes, that saw its philosophy of temperance adopted by local, state, and national governments, and that was instrumental in effecting social and political change it became one which has steadily declined in numbers, in prestige, and in its ability to effect reforms. It is an example of a reform organization that was still campaigning for reform long after societal conditions and values had changed. Like the dinosaur it was unable to adapt to changed circumstances.

Its STI program also went into decline, especially after Repeal. The Yale Center of Alcohol Studies provided the first major competition in textbook publishing. The majority of new textbooks stressed moderation, rather than abstinence. Their reduced numbers, plus the changed emphasis in the schools has meant that the WCTU's STI department is nowhere near as active as earlier, watching over few state curriculums and exams, distributing less literature to schools, running only a small number of oratorical and essay contests. When the prestige and status disappeared with the repeal of prohibition so did the ladies' ability to influence the school. Teachers' associations began to weed out horror propaganda from textbooks and decreased the space and time devoted to alcohol. Teachers and trustees began to ensure a fair and reasonable treatment of the subject.[58] The leadership in this aspect of the school curriculum had passed from a group outside of the school and a one-sided approach to the problem to the educational professionals themselves and a fairer treatment of what was no longer an hysterical subject. In the meantime the WCTU had become an international organization, one in which the American philosophy and organization were adopted and adapted around the world.

INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS

The rapid spread of the Union across the country and interest from elsewhere encouraged the American leaders to organize a world-wide movement encompassing at least forty-three nations. The World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union was "the first organization of Christian women to make an international appeal for the establishment of total abstinence, scientific temperance training in the schools, courts of international arbitration, the promotion of equal moral standards, the enfranchisement of women and the abolition of the manufacture and sale of beverage alcohol." At the first convention held in Boston in 1891 more than forty countries sent delegates, and there was a global paid-up membership of over 200,000 women. By 1929 fifty-three nations belonged with an overall membership in excess of

600,000.[59] Although most of the world organizational work was undertaken by American women, prominent women from a variety of different nations were active participants in global projects. One of the early examples of World WCTU activity was the Polyglot petition, circulated throughout fifty nations. It was a document that indicated the protest of women throughout the world against the social, moral and political evils of alcohol, opium, prostitution, gambling and a number of other vices. The WCTU hoped to shame governments that supported such activities because of the profits involved, to legislate against such activities. Frances Willard, the initiator of the petition, personally introduced it to conventions across the globe as a petition which supported the rights of women.[60] The first country outside of the U.S. to organize individual unions and then a national WCTU was Canada, and as the next chapter will show it adopted the American organizational plan, the Christian emphasis, and the "protection" motto, and Canadian members, such as Letitia Youmans, Sara Rowell Wright, and Louise Crummy McKinney became active in the international organization.[61]

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER 2

[1] Norman H. Clark, Deliver Us From Evil: An Interpretation of American Prohibition. New York: W.W. Norton and Co. Inc., 1976, p. 23.

[2] IBID, p. 29.

[3] Many authors speak of the social problems, the evangelical spirit, and the growth of temperance sentiment. Besides Norman H. Clark, see also Timothy L. Smith, Revivalism and Social Reform in Mid-Nineteenth Century America. New York: Abingdon Press, 1957; and John Kobler, Ardent Spirits: The Rise and Fall of Prohibition. G.P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1973.

[4] Joseph R. Gusfield, Symbolic Crusade: Status Politics and the American Temperance Movement. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1963, pp. 74-75.

[5] IBID, p. 77. Annie Wittenmyer told the delegates in 1877: "I trust the atmosphere of this meeting will be prayer. This society was born of prayer and must be nurtured and sustained by prayer...." In 1878 she argued for "singleness of purpose." Frances Willard, on the other hand, said: "We speak about the germ of a new church ... we speak about the germ of a new political party.... We speak about a better Indian policy ..., about a wiser civil service reform...." Quoted by Gusfield from Annual Report of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union, 1877, 1878.

[6] John Kobler, Ardent Spirits, p. 136.

[7] See Andrew Sinclair, Prohibition: The Era of Success. Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1962, pp. 24-25; John Kobler, Ardent Spirits, p. 136; Marcia McGovern, "The Woman's Christian Temperance Union Movement in Saskatchewan, 1886-1930: A Regional Perspective of the International White Ribbon Movement," M.A. thesis, University of Regina, 1977, pp. 15-16; and Joseph R. Gusfield, Symbolic Crusade, pp. 88-89.

[8] John Kobler, Ardent Spirits, p. 136. See also "The First Seed in Our History" in Annual Report of the Alberta Woman's Christian Temperance Union, 1929, p. 44 (hereafter Alta. WCTU AR, 1929, p. 44).

[9] See John Kobler, Ardent Spirits, p. 136; Mary Earhart, Frances Willard: From Prayers to Politics. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1944; and Marcia McGovern, "The Woman's Christian Temperance Union Movement in Saskatchewan."

[10] Joseph R. Gusfield, Symbolic Crusade, p. 89.

[11] The temperance, women's enfranchisement, and evangelical church reform movements overlapped one another. Each was concerned with the state of the society and thought it had the answer. What we find is that they intertwined leadership, members, and philosophy and in the end were fighting the same problem. Western expansion, urbanism and industrialization were the causes of the problems the reform groups wished to eradicate.

[12] Joseph R. Gusfield, Symbolic Crusade, p. 74; Andrew Sinclair, Prohibition, pp. 54-55.

[13] Marcia McGovern, "The Woman's Christian Temperance Union," p. 36.

[14] IBID.

[15] See Eleanor Flexner, Century of Struggle: The Woman's Rights Movement in the United States. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959, Chapter XIII; Joseph R. Gusfield, Symbolic Crusade, pp. 79-81; and Norman H. Clark, Deliver Us From Evil, p. 202. Jack S. Blocker in Retreat from Reform: The Prohibition Movement in the United States, 1890-1913. Westpoint, Connecticut: The Greenwood Press, 1976, classifies all prohibitionist leaders, men and women, as "decent citizens" - educated, middle-class, evangelical, urban oriented and mobile. See pages 8-16.

[16] See Andrew Sinclair, The Better Half: The Emancipation of the American Woman. New York: Harper and Row, 1965; Joseph R. Gusfield, Symbolic Crusade, pp. 73-79.

[17] See William O'Neill, The Woman's Movement: Feminism in the United States and England. New York: Barnes and Noble Inc., 1969, pp. 43-44; Eleanor Flexner, Century of Struggle, Chapters II and VIII; Patricia Palmieri, "Paths and Pitfalls: Illuminating Women's Educational History," Harvard Educational Review 49 (Nov. 1979): 534-541; and Nancy F. Cott The Bonds of Womanhood: "Woman's Sphere" in New England, 1780-1835. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977, pp. 7, 9, 30-35. Cott says "Between 1825 and 1860, according to a recent inquiry, a quarter of all native born New England women were schoolteachers for some years of their lives." pp. 34-35. Carl F. Kaestle and Maris A. Vinovskis estimate that "approximately one out of every five white women in Massachusetts was a schoolteacher at some time in her life. Moreover, because almost all the teachers were native-born, probably one out of every four Massachusetts females born in the United States taught school at some time." Carl F. Kaestle and Maris A. Vinovskis, Education and Social Change in Nineteenth Century Massachusetts. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980, pp. 205-206.

[18] Joseph R. Gusfield, Symbolic Crusade, p. 76.

[19] IBID, p. 89.

[20] John Kobler, Ardent Spirits, pp. 143-144.

[21] See John Kobler, Ardent Spirits, pp. 137-145; Joseph R. Gusfield, Symbolic Crusade, pp. 79-93; Norman H. Clark, Deliver Us From Evil. See also Wendy Mitchinson, "Aspects of Reform" and Marcia McGovern, "The Woman's Christian Temperance Union."

[22] Joseph R. Gusfield, Symbolic Crusade. The Prohibition Party was largely unsuccessful in American politics. Founded in 1869 it restricted its activities to the single issue of Prohibition between 1872 and 1896 despite "broad gaugers" within the party who advocated other issues. See Gusfield, pp. 94-95. The Anti-Saloon League was an organization of drys formed because the Prohibition Party was unsuccessful. It supported politicians from both major parties. See Andrew Sinclair, Prohibition, pp. 85-87.

[23] See Andrew Sinclair, The Better Half, pp. 222-277; James H. Timberlake, Prohibition and the Progressive Movement, 1900-1920. New York: Atheneum, 1970, pp. 122-123; Joseph R. Gusfield, Symbolic Crusade, pp. 88-90.

[24] Joseph R. Gusfield, Symbolic Crusade, pp. 89-90. In her presidential address in 1884, Willard said: "Niggardly waists and niggardly brains go together.... Bonneted women are not in the normal condition for thought; high-heeled women are not in the normal condition for motion; corseted women are not in the normal condition for motherhood." Quoted in Gusfield from Annual Report of the National WCTU (1889), pp. 133-134.

[25] Most sources on both the story of prohibition and the WCTU devote some space to the education program of the WCTU. Generally, the authors seem to conclude that the school campaign was successful, not only in effecting the curriculum, but also in effecting the Prohibition vote.

[26] Norton Mezvinsky, "Scientific Temperance Instruction in Schools," History of Education Quarterly, 1, March 1961, pp. 48-57. Andrew Sinclair, Prohibition, p. 44; see also Norman H. Clark, Deliver Us From Evil, pp. 85-86; John Kobler, Ardent Spirits, p. 143; and Joseph R. Gusfield, Symbolic Crusade, pp. 85-86.

[27] The Committee of Fifty was a group of scholars and businessmen who sponsored research studies on various aspects of the temperance problem. Besides the textbooks they looked at substitutes for the saloon, gathered statistics on destitution and alcohol and did case studies on more than 13,000 convicts. It had four sub-committees investigating the economic, social, political and psychological aspects of the liquor problem. It published its findings in a multi-volumed series.

[28] Andrew Sinclair, Prohibition, p. 45.

[29] John Kobler, Ardent Spirits, p. 140.

[30] IBID, p. 139.

[31] James H. Timberlake, Prohibition and the Progressive Movement, pp. 49-50.

[32] John Kobler, Ardent Spirits, p. 140 and Andrew Sinclair, Prohibition, p. 44.

[33] Ruth Miller Elson, Guardians of Tradition: American Schoolbooks of the Nineteenth Century. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1964, p. 1.

[34] John H. Westerhoff III, McGuffey and His Readers: Piety, Morality, and Education in Nineteenth Century America. Nashville: Abingdon, 1978, p. 14. In 1928 Henry Ford wrote: "... The moral principles Dr. William Holmes McGuffey stressed, the solid character building qualities he emphasized, are stressed and emphasized ... today." p. 15. A Saturday Evening Post article, 1927, claimed that the Readers were the most significant force in the framing of national morals and tastes. p. 15.

[35] Joseph R. Gusfield, Symbolic Crusade, p. 86.

[36] Richard D. Mosier, Making the American Mind: Social and Moral Ideas in the McGuffey Readers. New York: King's Crown Press, 1947, pp. 124-125.

[37] Ruth Miller Elson, Guardians of Tradition, pp. 317-318.

[38] Richard D. Mosier, Making the American Mind, pp. 130-131.

[39] IBID, p. 126.

[40] Ruth Miller Elson, Guardians of Tradition, p. 318.

[41] IBID, p. 319.

[42] Norman H. Clarke, Deliver Us From Evil, p. 45 and John Kobler, Ardent Spirits, pp. 69-70.

[43] Andrew Sinclair, Prohibition, p. 43.

[44] See Ruth Miller Elson, Guardians of Tradition, pp. 317-322 and Richard D. Mosier, Making the American Mind, pp. 124-131.

[45] Richard D. Mosier, Making the American Mind, pp. 128-219.

[46] James H. Timberlake, Prohibition and the Progressive Movement, Chapter II, "The Scientific and Social Arguments."

[47] Lawrence Cremin, The Transformation of the School: Progressivism in American Education, 1876-1957. New York: Knopf, 1961, pp. VIII-IX.

[48] James H. Timberlake, Prohibition and the Progressive Movement, pp. 44.

[49] IBID, pp. 39-66. Timberlake concluded: "The chief effect of sociological data was to persuade many people to turn to saloon suppression and prohibition as a means of curbing the use of liquor.... In dealing with the liquor question, progressive social scientists ... insisted that, since alcohol was retarding the progress of mankind, the state had a duty to intervene and control it." p. 60.

[50] Andrew Sinclair, Prohibition, p. 46.

[51] Lawrence Cremin, The Transformation of the School, p. VIII.

[52] Joseph R. Gusfield, Symbolic Crusade, pp. 69-70.

[53] IBID.

[54] Paul Boyer, Urban Masses and Moral Order in America, 1820-1920. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1978.

[55] The Volstead Act or the 18th Amendment was ratified in 1919. It was repealed in 1933.

[56] Joseph R. Gusfield, Symbolic Crusade, pp. 129ff.

[57] IBID, p. 145.

[58] Andrew Sinclair, Prohibition, p. 405.

[59] Quoted in Marcia McGovern, "The Woman's Christian Temperance Union Movement in Saskatchewan," pp. 55-56.

[60] Wendy Mitchinson, "Aspects of Reform: Four Women's Organizations in Nineteenth Century Canada," Ph.D. thesis, University of Toronto, 1977, pp. 187-188.

[61] Letitia Youmans, as a Dominion delegate, visited England, Ireland, and Scotland in 1883. Sara Rowell Wright was a vice-president of the World Organization as was Louise McKinney, who also hosted the World Convention in 1931 in Toronto.

CHAPTER 3

THE WCTU MOVEMENT AND TEMPERANCE EDUCATION: PRE 1900 CANADA

The formation of WCTU organizations in Ontario shortly after the original meeting in Cleveland marked the beginning of WCTU growth across the country. Borrowing the American union's philosophy, organization and methodology the Canadian members organized at the local, provincial and dominion levels adapting the American techniques to the local conditions. In particular the department of Scientific Temperance Instruction was formed but in neither Ontario nor the Northwest Territories did it seem to have the success credited to it south of the border. A number of reasons have been suggested for this difference, including the WCTU departmental leadership, the organization of the department of education, and the lack of temperance sentiment found in textbooks. In addition the Northwest Territories was very much a frontier society causing few unions to be formed, a general lack of interest in temperance and a department of education which relied heavily on Ontario. The result was that on the eve of provincial status for Alberta the WCTU organization on the Prairie was in its infancy and the department of education's interest in hygiene and temperance was minimal.

WCTU DEVELOPMENTS IN ONTARIO

Beginnings

Temperance Unions in Canada developed almost simultaneously in Ontario. In May, 1874, Mrs. R.J. Doyle of Owen Sound persuaded forty ladies to join with her in the formation of the Ladies Prohibition League. This League was an outgrowth of the Women's Temperance Crusades in the United States. Influenced by Mrs. Mary Hunt, the Scientific Temperance Instruction (STI) leader, the League reorganized under the name WCTU. This first union, however, has received little history or recognition, probably because the second union, founded at Picton, late in 1874, was led by Mrs. Letitia Youmans, the most prominent early organizer of women's temperance work in Canada.[1] Mrs. Youmans was educated at Ladies Academy in Cobourg, Ontario; taught in a local country school from her own curriculum; returned for further education to the Burlington Ladies' Academy; and taught at the Burlington School and the Picton Academy. Married to a widower with eight children she remained at home until family responsibilities ended. Then, like so many of her American counterparts, educated, middle-class, at an age when her children were grown, Letitia became interested in temperance through Sunday School teaching. She instigated a pledge, and organized the children into a "Band of Hope" to try to counter the evil effects and harm that alcohol brought to many of her students. Moving the group out of the Methodist Church, and into a rented hall, she was able to attract children from other religious denominations.[2]

She attended a Sunday School conference at Chautauqua, New York, and there met the women who were planning the WCTU, the women who had been active in the Women's Crusades. Inspired by these "women of mental culture, good social position and deep piety"; discovering that the temperance crusade leaders were "suitable women" she returned to Canada and formed the famous Picton local of the WCTU, adopting the 146th psalm, and the Chautauqua salute as a link with the movements' American origins.[3] At the first anniversary meeting in Cincinnati Mrs. Youmans had "come to learn," but ended up addressing the meeting. According to Frances Willard, her powerful voice, her obvious magnetism, her organizational ability told the American women that Canada had a natural leader. The "Canadian Deborah" were the words Frances Willard used to describe her.[4]

Initial spread of WCTU organizations across Ontario and the rest of the country followed and by 1877 there was a large number of local unions in Ontario, including an active Toronto local which initiated plans for the formation of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Ontario.[5] Moncton, New Brunswick was the scene of the first union in the Maritimes in 1875 and by 1883 a Maritime organization was created, putting local unions in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island under one maritime banner. It has been suggested that these provinces were neither large, nor strong enough to support individual provincial unions. This attempt at unity lasted until 1895 when the three provinces went their separate ways.[6] Communities in English speaking Quebec were a little slower to develop but spurred on by visits from Frances Willard in 1883 a number of locals were organized and a provincial union created.[7] Mrs. Youmans made trips to Manitoba in 1883, and the North West Territories in 1886.[8] Frances Willard travelled to the Canadian west coast and a union was begun in Victoria in 1883.[9] The Canadian movement, by the mid 1880's, stretched from coast to coast, and it became evident that there was a need for a national body to coordinate the activities of the provincial unions. Frances Willard, using the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union as an example, encouraged the Canadian women to move in this direction. The first meeting of the Dominion Woman's Christian Temperance Union was held in Ottawa in 1885, although the actual organizational beginnings occurred in 1883. The purpose of the Dominion Union was "to unite more closely the women of the provincial unions and to devise plans for the general good, to be carried out in detail by the provinces."[10] The formation of the Dominion Union, with the encouragement of Frances Willard, was part of the overall push to organize a world-wide movement as indicated in Chapter 2.

The American and Canadian Unions tended to be quite close and supported one another, despite a major difference in early methodology. Confronting saloon keepers, chanting outside drinking establishments, organizing children to taunt the overimbibers were not tactics with which Canadian women felt comfortable. The hatchet attacks of Carrie Nation made the conservative, genteel, ladylike women shudder with horror and anguish. The Canadian women were reluctant to work in public and bring attention to themselves. "We shrank instinctively from the notoriety, and from having our names and our action discussed by the vulgar and bar-room loafers." Instead of approaching the drinkers directly the women petitioned the town councils, and other agencies who sold licenses.[11] The Christian Guardian had early indicated support for women's temperance activities, but not the type prevalent in the U.S. It had suggested instead action on the quieter lines. "The united action of the most respectable ladies of each locality against the use of intoxicating liquors as an article of domestic entertainment, would do much to arrest the evils of drinking" suggested the Guardian.[12]

In other ways the Unions were alike. Both were striving for a moral society along temperance lines. Both acknowledged the Christian impetus in their work, and both acknowledged Miss Willard as the spiritual influence. The Canadian union adopted the motto, the white ribbon emblem, and the religious atmosphere of the American union. The American publishing house in Evanston, Illinois produced much literature which Canadian members used, particularly because the Canadian publishing activity was very small. In addition the "departments of work," the overall organization and the type of membership were similar. America WCTU leaders such as Frances Willard, Mary Hunt of Massachusetts, Mary Laethrop of Michigan and Esther Pugh, the editor of the WCTU paper, visited Canada offering advice and encouragement, attending conventions, and forming local unions. Letitia Youmans, of course, was active in the American movement, campaigning in Michigan, travelling from Maine to Kansas, Ohio, Pennsylvania and New York. In Maryland she even addressed the Senate and a committee of the Legislature.[13] At a time when the western portions of both nations were being settled, immigrants from one country often crossed to the other. In this manner the philosophy, tactics, successes and failures of the American WCTU had an impact on Canada. In particular the organizational framework developed in the U.S. was an integral part of the Canadian unions.

Organizational Framework (Departments of Work)

Like its mother organization the WCTU's in Canada divided their activities into "departments of work." Although some of these had the same titles as similar departments in the U.S. - Social Purity, Sabbath Observance, Unfermented Wine, Kitchen Gardens, Sunday Schools - others were peculiar to Canadian conditions. In particular the department devoted to the Northwest Territories is of interest here. It wasn't until 1904 that the Territories had their own organization.[14] Of the three departments singled out for special attention in the U.S., the Prohibition department did not exist in the Dominion or the various provincial WCTU's. Although the aim of the WCTU in Canada was clearly prohibition, the means to obtain this differed - at least in these early years. "The Christian Women of this Dominion, conscious of the increasing evils, and appalled at the tendencies and dangers of intemperance, believe it has become our duty under the Province of God to unite our efforts for its extinction." However, according to Mrs. Youmans, this meant "personal total abstinence on the part of the members, pledging the children against alcohol, tobacco and bad words, relieving the poor, circulating the total abstinence pledge, influencing the churches to use unfermented wine at the sacrament, and also to patronize no store where liquor was sold...."[15] All the departments concentrated on the voluntary aspects of temperance. When Canadian women did become interested in Prohibition as such they organized the Legislation Department, whose function it was to institute laws which would make it impossible or at least difficult to obtain alcohol.

The Franchise Department was charged with the responsibility of securing the vote for women. Since women did not have direct representation they had to rely on support from men. When it did not come the women began to agitate for the vote. As in the U.S., the WCTU did not support this move in the early years. Letitia Youmans deliberately stressed the protection of home and children. "So strong was the opposition in Canada to what was commonly termed "Woman's rights," that I had good reason to believe that should I advocate the ballot for women in connection with my temperance work, it would most effectively block the way, and it was already uphill work for a woman to appear on a public platform."[16] The interest in the extension of the franchise to women was pushed by the Western provinces first, where the pioneer women had helped settle the homestead. In each of these provinces the WCTU backed the suffrage campaign, but "maintained a traditional approach to the role of men and women."[17]

The Department of Scientific Temperance Instruction was one of the early organized areas of work in Canada. The WCTU believed that the supervision and education of the children would result in proper moral behavior in the children and be an influence of good for their parents. Therefore they devoted much time and energy to children's activities, wanting children to learn at an early age about the evils of alcohol. Thus an active STI Department was found in many areas. The Ontario WCTU used three methods to influence temperance teaching in the schools: petitioning school boards; influencing teachers by teachers' receptions; and requesting the Minister of Education to place STI on the list for examination and to authorize a textbook on the subject. The ladies wanted the course to begin with oral instruction for small children, to be followed by authorized textbooks for the different grade levels, more advanced courses for high school students and courses in methodology for student teachers in normal and model schools.[18] The success of this program varied across the country. On the surface it appears to have been more successful in the Maritimes where local option made the area virtually dry and the schools upheld this sentiment, than in Ontario where, despite a petition "to which thousands of signatures were secured," and a course that did become compulsory in 1893, only a limited program was offered in the early 1900's.[19] The Ontario leaders also tried to have approved Canadian texts adopted by the schools but neither these nor the courses met with much enthusiasm. Mrs. McKee, in writing the history of the Ontario WCTU, argued that the STI program in Ontario did not have the success that was experienced in the United States.[20]

Generally, the departments of work in the Dominion and provincial WCTU's were fewer in number than their counterparts in the U.S. Given the disparity in numbers between the two regions this is understandable. Obviously no local could be strong in all departments and annual reports continually indicated many inactive departments. It also seems that the activity of a particular department depended upon the superintendent. In some cases a department appeared very active and successful. In reality this was often the work of one woman. Probably the list of departments suggested the areas of interest, but not necessarily the actual work done, and that the addition of departments reflected changing interests. This departmental organization and grass roots activity meant that the real work was at the local level. The Dominion organization provided confidence, a measure of unity, inspiration and courage. The difference between the success of certain departments depended on a number of factors, including departmental leadership, educational organization, and temperance precedence. In particular to understand the operation of the STI department, and to appreciate the educational efforts of the WCTU a look at the early Ontario educational system, its curriculum, moral emphasis, textbooks, and organization is necessary, especially since Ontario's public school system was adopted in the West.

EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM IN ONTARIO

Egerton Ryerson was appointed Assistant Superintendent of Schools for Upper Canada in 1844 and Superintendent in 1846. Over the next thirty years he put in place a centralized, bureaucratic, compulsory, free system of public schooling for the Province of Ontario and by extension, English-speaking Canada. According to J. Donald Wilson, "Ryerson looked on the school as a vehicle for inculcating loyalty and patriotism, fostering social cohesion and self-reliance, and insuring domestic tranquility."[21] The school was to be Christian, with religion and morality as the underlying base on which to build practical, social and national goals. However, the Christian principles espoused by Ryerson were synonymous with Protestant values and he wished a "comprehensive, non-sectarian course of biblical and religious instruction."[22] He believed that it was "the cultivation and exercise of man's moral powers and feelings which forms the basis of social order and the vital fluid of social happiness; and the cultivation of this is the province of Christianity,"[24] and of his public school system. The school was designed to encourage attitudes of brotherly love and harmony, to stress the virtues of punctuality, orderly conduct and industry, and to produce in the working class proper middle class virtues of cleanliness, obedience, and self-reliance. Like the schools of nineteenth century America, Ryerson's schools were to train citizens in character and moral principles. And like the American schools the textbook was an important tool for achieving these ends.

Textbooks

Ryerson's textbook crusade was a long one. As early as 1846 he suggested to the Provincial Secretary a desire "that there should be uniformity in Text Books used in the Schools . . . and that the Board should make out a list of School Text Books, . . . that they would recommend, and another list that they would not permit." Ryerson reported that the "variety of textbooks in the schools, and the objectionable character of many of them, is a subject of serious and general complaints."[24] He was particularly concerned about the many American texts found throughout the province, which he believed were "anti-British," containing "statements and illusions prejudicial to the institutions and character of the British Nation."[25] Therefore, Ryerson needed to find suitable texts - a series of books for all ages and subjects which would give the child a broad knowledge of the universe, a deep-seated morality and a common core of Christianity, plus texts which would ensure a loyal Upper Canadian society within the embrace of the British Empire. He wanted no more insurrections like the Rebellions of 1837 and 1838, caused, he believed, by the use of "United States School Books" advocating individualism, egalitarianism and republicanism.[26] The Irish National Series was adopted and the readers, in particular, found favor across the province. This policy effectively excluded American texts, particularly readers, and importantly to this study, the McGuffey Readers with their temperance sentiment.

The Irish National Readers published by the National Commissioners of Education stressed Biblical knowledge, Christian virtues and a common anglo-saxon heritage. The series consisted of seven anthologies of prose and poetry, covering a wide range of subjects. They were almost a complete curriculum in themselves. Here is a summarized list of contents of the Third Book of Lessons (1849 edition):

Kinds of Material	Number of Selections
Natural History	22
Poems	18
Religious and Moral Lessons	14
Stories and Fables	14
Miscellaneous Lessons in Prose	14
Manufacturers	6
Geographic and Descriptive Outlines	5
Lessons on Money Matters	4
Outlines of Grammar	2
Lessons on Farming	1[27]

The Irish Readers served several purposes. They taught the children to read and write, they conveyed useful information, they inculcated a Christian world view and they reinforced a pious character structure. According to Ryerson the child would have a broad knowledge of the universe. The Readers "beginning with the forms and various sounds of the letters, ..., ... proceed through the simple elements of the essential branches of useful knowledge, until in the fourth and fifth books, the most important subjects ... are treated in a manner both attractive and scientific, and adapted to the intercourse and pursuits of life - the whole being interspersed with miscellaneous and poetic selections calculated to please the imagination, to gratify and improve the taste, and to elevate and strengthen the moral feelings."[28] An article in This Magazine concluded that the ideological task was the most important, that every selection had the same moral purpose, and that the means to accomplish this end was through Christian teachings. The author summarized that the readers taught the children of farmers, and artisans, and the poor, the virtues that would make them obedient of authority and content with their lot in life; the joys awaiting good behavior and the punishment promised for evil conduct; and a religious spirit which would be an important ideological counterforce against the free spirited rhetoric from south of the border.[29] In this emphasis on Christian morality, on biblical passages, and on uniformity, they were much like the McGuffey Readers. However, in two important ways they differed: the nationalistic spirit of McGuffey was missing from the Irish Reader, which stressed an anglo-saxon legacy instead of Irish nationalism; and the emphasis on temperance, meaning abstinence in the area of alcoholic beverages, was also nonexistent.[30]

Although there was temperance sentiment in Upper Canada at this time it was not reflected in the readers nor was it increased because of the reader. It is not surprising that although both readers had moral, pietistic overtones, one stressed temperance and the other did not. The Irish Readers were designed, among other things, to cool down two major tension areas in Irish national life: the tension between the Protestants and the Catholics; and the tension between the British rulers and their Irish subjects. In other words, controversial subjects needed to be avoided. Given the religious basis for temperance, particularly its evangelical background, the omission from the series of references to temperance with regard to alcohol, particularly temperance that meant total abstinence was understandable.[31]

McGuffey, however, had no such problem. Textbook selection was not a centralized matter in the U.S., and as a Presbyterian minister in the mid-West, he probably reflected his own view of morality as well as that of his fellow evangelical Christians.[32] Schools and teachers were free to use whatever texts were available, which after 1829 included McGuffey. This view of the importance of McGuffey himself is supported by a cursory glance at Murray's English Reader:

The English Reader
or
Precis in Prose and Verse
from the
Best Writers; designed to
Assist Young Persons to Read with Propriety and Effect;
improve their
Language and sentiments; and to inculcate the most
important principles of Piety and Virtue
with a few preliminary
Observations on the Principles
of
Good Reading[33]

The reader, prepared by an American living in England, was used in both Ontario and parts of the United States in the first decades of the nineteenth century.[34] It promoted the virtues of integrity, honor, duty, obedience, candor, custom, sensibility and discretion; it decried promiscuity and the slavery of vice. Piety, gratitude, and morality were important in Murray's reader. Again, as in the Irish National Series no mention was made of temperance. McGuffey seems to have been one of the first authors to make temperance an important part of the reader.

The Irish National Series was followed by two series of readers: the Ryerson Readers and the Ontario Readers. The Ryerson Readers, edited by a committee of four clergymen members of the Council of Public Instruction, replaced the Irish National Series.[35] Although organized differently they were revised, Canadian editions of the Irish readers and thus temperance selections were no more in evidence than in the original series. The Ontario Readers produced in the 1880's, "when it was found that the textbooks authorized in 1867 in the subject of reading did not meet with the approval of the profession generally," had a long survival.[36] Parvin in Authorization of Textbooks for the Schools of Ontario, 1846-1950 said that despite professional and educational support and a large variety of resources "the finished products bear a startling resemblance to the Irish National Readers."[37] Virtues of courage, obedience, humility, thrift, industry, and love were extolled; vices of greed, haughtiness, dishonesty, and laziness were frowned upon. But again as in the earlier readers used in Upper Canada and Ontario, temperance was not mentioned. Stories that dealt with self-restraint and self-denial were common: for example, anger was to be controlled and material wants denied. However, temperance referring to alcohol, as in the McGuffey Readers, was absent.[38] Following the pattern of the early years the Ontario Department of Education devised readers that closely adhered to British traditions rather than relying on American attitudes. The readers and the public school were not used to create a sentiment favoring temperance, or to establish the school as a logical vehicle for strengthening the campaign against alcohol use.

Temperance Courses

When the WCTU, therefore, began the campaign to have temperance teaching in the schools of Ontario, precedent was not on their side, even though temperance societies and organizations had been in existence for many years. In 1881 and 1882 they petitioned Adam Crooks, Minister of Education, to introduce "Temperance Teaching, with text books, in the Public School." The Honorable G.W. Ross promised, in 1884, to place this topic on the school curriculum once a week, and to make it an examination subject in the Model Schools. Over the next few years a compulsory course was added, an examination became part of the Model School process, and in 1887, Public School Temperance by Benjamin Ward Richardson was introduced.[39] It was one thing to have temperance on the curriculum once a week and an approved textbook, and it was quite another to have the schools satisfactorily make use of this subject. Mrs. Annie O. Rutherford found that in 1887 only six schools offered systematic temperance lessons.[40] There were heated discussions between the minister and the WCTU ladies over the position given temperance. Ross was quoted as saying that "WCTU meant 'Women Constantly Troubling Us'."[41] They produced a petition "to which thousands of signatures were secured of parents, clergymen, teachers and members of temperance societies," which resulted in 1889 in STI having a definite place on the school programme.[42] The WCTU made plans to get up-to-date information in the hands of the teachers, and to call to the attention of the teachers the Departmental regulations. By 1893 physiology and temperance had become compulsory, an examination was required, and a new text, William Nattress' Public School Physiology and Temperance had been authorized.[43] This was the highlight of WCTU success with the public school. The annual report of the Minister of Education for 1896 revealed Departmental policy: "It is also worthy of note that the number of pupils receiving instruction in Temperance and Hygiene has increased from 33,926 in 1882 to 191,715 in 1895. Having regard to the great importance of the knowledge of physiology and the injurious effects of alcoholic stimulants on the human system, provision was made by statute in 1886 for placing this subject on the course of study for Public Schools." Instruction was also provided under departmental regulations for teachers-in-training at County Model Schools and Normal Schools and in 1893 this subject was made compulsory for entrance to High Schools and Collegiate Institutes according to Dr. Ross.[44]

The chronicle of events after 1893 indicated less than one hundred percent cooperation from teachers, trustees and departmental officials. Both teachers and trustees objected to the WCTU endorsed program, arguing that the methodology was poor and that it took time away from other more important subjects.[45] In 1900 a committee of the Provincial Teachers' Association was appointed to consider how the Public School Curriculum could be improved. It advocated the dropping of STI and the substitution of Hygiene, which might be taught "if the teacher chose." When the Provincial Teachers' Association met in Toronto, Mrs. Hunt, the International Superintendent of STI and the driving force behind its success in the U.S., was allowed only fifteen minutes to speak to the delegates and her address was timed with a stopwatch.[46] The teachers of Ontario were showing some displeasure with STI curricula and they influenced the department to make changes in the Hygiene and Temperance course. Temperance was dropped as a high school entrance examination, and although it continued to be required in Forms 2, 3, and 4, its emphasis was changed. Instead of relying on material in books, "instruction in temperance should be given incidentally from current incidents, from lessons in literature, history, etc., and especially by the example of the teacher." Ontario officials seemed particularly concerned about the scientific aspect of alcohol education and the difficulty of teaching "pathology" to children.[47] This development by the Ontario department indicated some of the problems the WCTU encountered. First of all, the teacher was encouraged to use incidents from lessons in literature and history. However, as we have indicated, the texts had no selections related to temperance. The ladies might well question what incidents the teacher would use. Second, the department was unimpressed by scientific teaching in this subject, the very method that the WCTU promoted as being up-to-date, factual, and of lasting significance. Only the pupils in the fourth form would get any scientific knowledge and that would "be acquired by observation of parts of animals, such as can be obtained in any butcher shop."[48] The effects of alcohol on vital organs would not be learned by means of such "scientific" experiments.

The WCTU lamented these changes and was further discouraged as agriculture gained in importance in the curriculum, crowding hygiene even further into the background. Mrs. McKee expressed the reaction of the ladies to these events: "The Education Department of the

Legislature has been a familiar point of attack...; and the history of STI has been one of continued and persevering combat with the powers-that-be, whose glaring obtuseness and blind ignorance, where this moral issue is concerned, has always been inexplicable to us.... We have not done all we might, but the opportunities of the schools as compared to those of the Temperance organizations are a 10,000 power electric light to a candle."[49] According to Mrs. McKee the educational programme of the Ontario Department of Education fell vastly short of the success experienced by its counterpart in the United States.

An Assessment of STI

Probably a number of factors help explain this lack of success in Ontario vis-à-vis the United States. Mention has already been made of the indirect influence of the McGuffey Readers and the pro-temperance sentiment if not created, at least enhanced by these temperance selections. The precedent of using the school in this way was also a plus for STI legislation. A second factor would be the personality of the STI leader in the U.S., Mrs. Hunt. A woman of intelligence, vigor and determination, she enlisted support from teachers and teacher organizations, from trustees and parents, from professional educators, the medical profession and churchmen. Never dismayed by adverse reports, she persevered until she had obtained success. The leaders in Ontario were of a different character, more quiet, conservative, peaceful. They did not want to do anything that would attract attention to themselves or upset their communities. Petitioning school boards, influencing teachers through means of teachers' receptions and petitioning the Minister of Education were the tactics they adopted.[50]

A further factor might be found in the highly centralized system of education in Ontario. The control by the department over the curriculum, textbooks and teacher training made it difficult for grass roots involvement in the school system. Unlike the U.S. where a decentralized system gave local trustees a great deal of power and individuals access to this seat of power, the tight control by the Department of Education meant that ideas for change sponsored by reform groups would be harder to effect.[51] They could not appeal to individual boards and schools to change the curricula, and appeals to the Department of Education had to convince the professionals that a change was warranted. The most recent studies on the Ontario system indicated that locals could have an effect if enough of them reacted to policies or requested changes.[52] In the case of temperance education it was introduced, but allowed to drop when teachers and trustees found it wanting. Sentiment to use the schools for alcoholic education does not seem to have been very strong in Ontario. This lack of local sentiment, partly explained by the Irish Readers and their followers; the highly centralized bureaucratic department; and the "quiet" campaign of the WCTU account for the lack of success they experienced with their educational program. Since both the WCTU organization and the department of education in Ontario influenced the development of their counterparts elsewhere across the country it would appear likely that the Northwest Territories had a similar history in regard to the WCTU's temperance campaign and education.

WCTU DEVELOPMENT IN THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES

Beginnings

The Woman's Christian Temperance Union spread into Western Canada early, pushed by the desire to have a truly national organization of women fighting the liquor traffic and by the realization that the Canadian Pacific Railway had opened the frontier to settlers, promoters, and laborers, a sure sign that vice and intemperance would prosper in railway and lumber camps and from there infiltrate small inauspicious settlements. Here was territory ripe for the activities of the temperance women. Mrs. Youmans visited the Northwest Territories in 1886 as part of a speaking and organizing tour that took her to British Columbia and California as well. In the Territories she visited Morley, Calgary, Medicine Hat, Regina and Qu'Appelle encouraging WCTU involvement. Before leaving the Territory Mrs. Youmans appointed Mrs. A.A. Andrews of Qu'Appelle, wife of the Methodist minister and an active temperance worker, as superintendent of WCTU work in the Northwest Territories with the duty to organize new unions and to encourage the existing ones to promote temperance work.[53] Mrs. Andrews visited the towns on the CPR as far west as Calgary in 1887 and organized unions at Qu'Appelle, Wolseley, and Broadview. In the next ten years unions were begun at Moose Jaw, Edmonton, Prince Albert, Moosomin, Maple Creek, MacLeod, Lethbridge, Red Deer, Innisfail and a second one at Edmonton.[54] The superintendent tried to visit all unions at least once a year, but distances were so great and communication facilities so meager that it was very difficult to maintain permanent organization or to show any degree of success. Marcia McGovern claimed that the two Edmonton unions were the only ones which never lapsed during the early years. In A Brief History of the WCTU in Saskatchewan it is stated "that many of these women were ten miles from their nearest neighbors and a Union of eight or ten members might easily cover an area of forty miles." This isolation was made worse by a lack of good communication facilities and by the constantly changing population which meant that leaders and workers were constantly on the move. Intermittent and permanently lapsed unions were the result.[55]

Frontier Conditions

The slow growth and the constant lapses in union organization and activity must be put in perspective. There were a number of factors which made WCTU work in the Northwest discouraging. First, the WCTU under Mrs. Youmans organized in the West when the population, political development, and number of towns were limited. The 1885 population of the North West Territories was 28,192, exclusive of Indians. The government was in the hands of a council headed by a lieutenant governor appointed by Ottawa. The first school legislation was not passed by the Territorial Council until 1884.[56] Although there were 76 schools operating within a few years most of these were one-room schools, open for a limited part of the year.[57] WCTU development would naturally take a back seat to more pressing political and economic matters. Communities, like Calgary, did not have a town council until 1884, the mechanism was not established for borrowing money or receiving grants for municipal ventures; and the election of members to the territorial council proceeded slowly.[58] Concern for social and moral issues, when it did surface, came in a request for schools and churches. Charitable activities, specialized reform groups, and social welfare agencies were the hallmark of more mature societies.

Second, immigration to the Prairies did not really pick up until after 1900, when American frontier land had disappeared and Sifton, Canada's minister of the interior, promoted an immigration policy based on free homestead land.[59] Problems of intemperance, although certainly in existence in the West prior to 1900, became more visible as the population grew rapidly and individuals found the promotional literature of Sifton and the CPR unrealistic. The disillusioned sometimes found solace in alcohol, and bars and saloons began to increase.

A third factor in the slow growth of the WCTU was the Territorial Prohibition legislation of 1870 which was in effect until 1892. Although abuses were common the law did prevent open drinking; beer halls and saloons were prohibited; and the drinking that did take place was done in a covert manner.[60] It was perhaps more difficult to become agitated about intemperance, if it was not noticeable, and if drunken men were not openly visible to the rest of the populace. It might be defeatist also, to make an issue of strict law enforcement of the Prohibitory legislation because it could be interpreted as indicating that Prohibition as an experiment was failing.

The fourth reason for the slow growth of the WCTU was the nature of early immigrants, most of whom were anglo-saxons from Ontario and the eastern provinces; often evangelical in their religious beliefs. Their "middle class values," the great distances involved, and the slow urbanization process meant that intemperance was viewed as a personal rather than a social problem. Coupled with this was the lack of non-anglo-saxon aliens who needed to be taught the good citizenship habits of thrift, industry and sobriety, a large force in the WCTU movement elsewhere.[61] The need for temperance reform in the West had to be balanced against the pioneer conditions, the existing legislation and the background of the settlers, all of which worked against a strong temperance push.

In 1903 Mrs. S.J. Craig, a strong WCTU worker from Quebec, moved to Olds, Alberta and the Dominion convention at Ottawa appointed her superintendent of WCTU work in the North West Territories. The conditions which had worked against a successful temperance movement were changing.[62] In 1892 a Liquor License Ordinance was put into effect for the Territories replacing the old Prohibition Law of 1870, which granted licenses to hotels for on-premise drinking and off-premise sale, and to wholesale establishments. A local option clause was included in the ordinance, and the number of licenses was restricted by the size of the population.[63] This legislative change meant that drinking in public was now legal and instead of a shameful aura it had a ring of respectability. Two consequences should be noted: first that intemperance became recognizable as hotels and bars became plentiful; and second since prohibition was no longer law, temperance forces did not have the symbolic status of a prohibition law on their side.

It was also during this decade that immigration began to increase, particularly among non-English speaking, non-anglo-saxons. L.G. Thomas in The North West Territories, 1870-1905 indicated that French, Hungarians, Ukrainians, Scandinavians, Icelanders and Germans had settled during the 1890's, mostly dispersed throughout the area rather than in group settlements.[64] It was generally felt among evangelical, Protestant, middle-class anglo-saxon settlers that they alone were abstainers. Immigration, besides increasing the foreign element in the Territories, swelled the general population so that towns began to increase in number and in size. The availability of liquor, the hotel bar and saloon, the foreign population all coming together in towns and cities gave the temperance forces reasons for an increase in activity. Immigration also effected the school system and a look at the system in the Territories should indicate if the increase in temperance activity might have an influence on the schools.

EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM IN THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES

Education, like settlement, came late to the West and many historians agree that the public education systems in Western Canada developed during the last decades of the nineteenth century were strongly influenced by Ontario's system. Certainly, at least in the early years, the curriculum, the textbooks, the teacher training system, the teachers themselves, as well as the administrators and the organization, had the Ontario flavor attached to them. One would expect then to find that hygiene and temperance courses had a somewhat similar history in the West as they did in Ontario, and that the WCTU spent many frustrating and futile hours with the department of education officials. In the Northwest Territories the hygiene and temperance courses were similar, but the role of the WCTU in these courses was negative.

The first educational legislation in the Territories was passed in 1884, but a supervisor of education, with the mandate to organize a system of schools, was not appointed until 1892. D.J. Goggin was born and educated in Ontario, taught, was assistant principal, and principal at three Ontario high schools. Appointed principal of the Manitoba Normal School and conductor of teachers' institutes, he then enrolled in the University of Manitoba where he was awarded both a BA and an MA.[65] When he accepted Haultain's offer to come to Regina, Goggin was considered a noted educational expert with teaching and administrative ability, and an interest in public service.[66] In a study of Goggin, Neil McDonald concluded that Goggin represented the conservative forces of his time; that "his" school was an instrument for social order and the assimilation of non-anglo-saxon groups; and that schools were necessary to preserve law, order and morality.[67] The WCTU argued that alcoholic beverages caused lawlessness, disorder and immorality. Therefore, the school should be an ideal place to teach about the dangers of alcoholism - especially Goggin's school which represented conservative ideas and forces.

Temperance Courses

The schools in the Northwest Territories had temperance as a compulsory subject as early as 1896. According to the Annual Report, although the syllabus stated clearly what was to be taught and indicated the standpoint from which it was to be presented, it was not well taught.[68] There were probably a number of reasons for this. First of all, a poorly educated, young and mobile teaching force would have difficulty with a subject outside of the three "r's" area.[69] Second, without an adequate textbook, both teacher and pupils would experience difficulty with subject matter.[70] Third, the Territories already had a prohibitory law which might lull trustees, inspectors and teachers into ignoring the need of an alcohol-related course.[71] Fourth, among teachers who did teach this subject, some used poor methodology. Goggin decried the teachers who dwelt chiefly on the evils of intemperance. He believed that showing pictures of diseased organs to the children and describing the social ruin caused by intemperance directed the mind downward and endeavored to save the child from alcoholism by deterrent methods. Although physical, financial and social ruin did follow the alcoholic, Goggin wanted the teachers to dwell on the positive rather than the negative aspects associated with this subject.[72]

The ideal methodology for temperance lessons, according to Goggin, would be to dwell upon the virtues of self-reverence and self-control, "picturing the body with its appetites under the rule of a trained will guided by an enlightened conscience." This methodology would direct the mind upward and be based on nobler incentives. Goggin firmly advocated the ideal of a vigorous, healthy and unabused body as the best way of preparing for life and its duties and as the road to higher success. Love of the good is a higher motive to action than fear of the bad, he told the teachers, and that "as a general principle there is more virtue in setting before the children the joy of right living, with the scientific basis therefore, than the sorrow of wrong living." He understood the influence of the school to be far reaching, and that the motives by which the teachers induced the child to control himself and perform his daily tasks would have a powerful influence in shaping his character. Goggin believed that most of his teachers were sympathetic to temperance as a school subject and he hoped that increasing attention would be given to it in the schoolrooms.[73]

Goggin had two broad aims for the school: that the pupils must be prepared as members of society to live a worthy life, and to earn a respectable living.[74] To help live a worthy life, lessons in temperance and hygiene would make clear the necessity for obedience to the laws of health and for control of appetites. Therefore, the teacher should: "Teach what a stimulant is, what a narcotic is and what each may cause; effects of alcohol on the digestive, circulatory, muscular and nervous system; teach that tobacco contains a poisonous substance called nicotine, that it frequently injures the throat, lungs, heart and other organs in adults, that it is far more harmful to young and growing persons than to adults, that it is particularly objectionable in the form of a cigarette, that children should avoid it in all its forms, and that the more sparingly grown people use it, the better, as a rule, they are off." The course of study indicated that the objective was to build up in the mind a theory of self-control and a willingness to abstain from acts that may grow into dangerous habits. It suggested to the teacher that moral and social effects should be prominent and abstinence inculcated from higher ends than physical ones. It warned the teacher to be careful of her facts and to refrain from assertions of what is uncertain or doubted by authority or what the child is likely to repudiate when he reaches maturity. The guide suggested that "special delicacy of treatment" would be needed "in those unfortunate cases in which children find themselves between the safe teaching of the school and the counter practices and influences of the home."[75] For convenience, it was also mentioned that the upgraded school could be divided into two sections, "the first comprising the pupils in Standards I and II, and the second, those in Standards III, IV, and V." The textbooks were for teacher reference only: either the Ontario Manual of Hygiene or the Ontario Public School Physiology and Temperance.[76]

Despite a course of study, a textbook, and indications of the importance of this subject by the Superintendent, indications were that it was not well taught. Inspector Perrett in 1900 said that the course of study was "being closely followed in all subjects except singing, drawing, and hygiene, in which branches there is too much incidental teaching."[77] A study of Standard V examinations in Hygiene and Temperance concluded that "the knowledge of the candidates as revealed in these answer papers is fair to good. The first four questions are answered well." The answers to questions five and six, however, caused concern.[78]

The 1900 Examination in Hygiene and Temperance asked:

1. Write notes on:

    a. The proper care of the nails, teeth and eyes.
    b. The beneficial effects of bathing.

2. What are the advantages of keeping the bedroom and bed clothing properly aired? How may this be done?

3. Describe the changes the food undergoes in the process of digestion.

4. Describe proper treatment in any two of the following cases, until the doctor comes:

    a. a person partially drowned.
    b. a person has fainted.
    c. a dislocated shoulder.
    d. a person has received a severe cut in the forearm.

5. Distinguish a stimulant, a narcotic, an intoxicant, and a tonic. Give an example of each.

6. State as clearly as you can why children should not use tobacco.[79]

One examiner said: "Temperance is evidently taught in intemperate language. An extreme view is held and a vulgar method employed in describing the effects of alcohol and tobacco." Another examiner offered advice to the teacher: "Teachers should assuredly be much more careful than they are in the statements they make before their classes when teaching this branch."[80] It would appear that basic health content was the more successful part of the hygiene and temperance course. In 1903 Inspector Bryan commented that "except in schools where pupils are being prepared for the Standard V examination, very little time is devoted to hygiene and temperance. Sometimes a place is assigned to these subjects in the teacher's timetable but as a rule the teaching is of a desultory nature."[81]

A look at both the normal school course of study and one of the recommended textbooks may help explain the problems that the temperance and hygiene course experienced. The Normal School Course of Study for 1898, 1900 and 1903 listed principles of hygiene as one of the topics under Art of Education for all classes of Certificate.[82] However, no question on this subject appeared on any of the professional examinations. If the topic did not receive much attention at the Normal School and was not tested for the teaching certificate, many teachers would not only not have had the background and methodology to handle the topic in the classroom, but also might not have felt that it was important enough to warrant much time and attention.

Besides the Ontario Manual of Hygiene, the other recommended text for teachers was Public School Physiology and Temperance by William Nattress, authorized in Ontario in 1893. The "Introduction" told the reader that "one of the most destructive agents man has brought into use is alcohol ... every tissue and every organ of the body is influenced by its use ... that perfect health cannot be hoped for when alcohol is taken in even so small a quantity."[83] Each chapter devoted to one aspect of the body - bones, muscles, digestion, circulation, respiration, the skin the nervous system, etc. - concluded with the effects of alcohol on the particular bodily function under discussion. For example, in the chapter devoted to "The Bones" the last section intoned: "It has often been observed that children of intemperate parents frequently fail to develop into manhood or womanhood. They may not be deformed, but their growth is arrested, and they remain small in body and infantile in character .... Such are examples of a species of degeneracy, and are evidences of the visiting of the sins of the fathers upon the children, which may extend even into the third and fourth generations."[84] The chapter on "Circulation" ended with this statement: "Very often in chronic, though perhaps moderate, drinkers, the arteries, instead of being strong, elastic tubes, like new rubber hoses, become hardened and unyielding, and are liable to give way."[85] The final point made in the chapter on Digestion" was that "in some cases the liver reaches an enormous weight, fifteen, and even twenty to twenty-five pounds being not uncommon."[86] The difficulty with these statements and others was that the lack of evidence cited was a deterrent to adult acceptance of the facts learned at school. A second problem of the text would be the difficulty of the subject matter - beyond the comprehension level of the majority of elementary age students.

Inadequately trained teachers, poor reference books, a crowded timetable and a short school experience for the majority of youngsters, meant that the temperance and hygiene courses had little impact in the Northwest Territories. In 1903 Inspector Bryan's comment above was the only mention made by an inspector on this subject. Either they omitted it because they never saw the course taught or because they did not think it an important part of the curriculum. Then in 1903 the course of studies for the upper standards was revised and the number of examination subjects reduced. The Standard V examination in Hygiene and Temperance was dropped, even though the course itself remained compulsory.[87] The course had received little attention when it was a Standard V examination course, the loss of even this status would make the course more impotent than ever.

The checkered career of temperance courses in the educational system of the Northwest Territories seemed to have followed closely events taking place in Ontario. The compulsory nature of the course, the assignment of Nattress' textbook, the writing of a Standard V examination, all had equivalent happenings in Ontario. It was on the course of the model and normal schools in Ontario, and shortly after Ontario dropped the examination requirement at school leaving or high school entrance, it was also dropped in the Northwest. A preliminary conclusion suggests that temperance courses in the Territories had more to do with what was happening in Ontario than related to needs or conditions in the West.

Textbooks

School textbooks, generally, and readers particularly were very important in the early school. Because other resource materials were lacking, because educational theories of the time period emphasized it, and because highly trained teachers were scarce, the textbook was an important part of the school. It was the one undisputed authority upon which the child and the teacher could rely. The most important text in the elementary school was the reader. It introduced the child not only to the English language, but also to history, geography, nature study and science. Given the nature of schooling in the early years, and the lack of other texts or reading material, the elementary school reader was one of the few sources of knowledge, human development and morality available to the student. Political, moral, and social concepts included in the selections helped shape the average child's view of the world and his place in it. Perhaps the moral tone was the most obvious. A perusal of texts showed that a life based on the golden rule and Judaeo-Christian traditions was stressed. Included in the selections were the virtues of persistence, obedience, and truthfulness. Students were urged to be brave, gentle, generous and wise. Idleness and laziness were denounced as sinful. The readers were full of one and two line fillers, usually found at the end of longer selections. Almost all of these stressed a moral:

> A good action is never thrown away.
> A kind face is a beautiful face.
> All that's great and good is done just by patient trying.
> Big things are done by little things.[88]

The authorized reader, selected for use in the schools of the Northwest Territories, was the Ontario reader. As discovered earlier, this reader, although it stressed the necessity of morality and promoted a number of virtues, it did not include the virtue of temperance in any of its selections. This lack of temperance references in the reader meant that not only was a temperance sentiment not being taught through the reader, but also that teachers did not have a ready source of examples and incidents with which to boost the actual teaching in the hygiene and temperance course. Temperance sentiment was not being created or enhanced through the school reader. A McGuffey-like force was not present in the schools of the Northwest Territories, nor was the WCTU involved in enhancing temperance sentiment.

An Assessment of the WCTU's Role

In both the United States and Ontario the push for temperance courses in the public schools came from the WCTU, particularly its Department of Scientific Temperance Instruction. This does not seem to have been the case in the Territories. Hygiene and Temperance was included in the course of study drawn up by Goggin in the 1890's. At this time the WCTU locals on the Territories were small, struggling, and sparse. Very few unions operated continually throughout this time period, and there was no Territorial organization to direct the work of various departments. According to Marcia McGovern, the most common departments organized during territorial days were: Work among Railway Construction Men, Jail Work, Press Work, Flower and Mission Work, Unfermented Wine Department, Evangelistic Work, Establishment of Coffee and Reading Rooms, Dissemination of Temperance Literature, Promotion of Public Temperance Lectures and Meetings, Juvenile Work, Finance and Legislation.[89] No mention was made of STI. Given the interrupted life of the Territorial unions, the small size and scattered population of the individual locals the above departments would appear to be an exaggeration. Probably only one or two unions were interested in any one line of work. Because of these factors it appears unlikely that any of the locals attempted STI work. The one in the best position, because it was continually in operation, had a large membership, and was situated in the capital of the Territories, the seat of the Council of Public Instruction, was the Regina Union. No evidence seems to exist to show an interest in STI, although evidence is available involving the Regina union in a number of other WCTU departments.[90] It would appear then that the hygiene and temperance course introduced by Goggin was not the result of pressure from WCTU members, as in the U.S. and in Ontario, but was the result of Goggin's reliance on the Ontario programme in developing his curriculum for the Northwest. Also, inclusion of this course fitted with Goggin's own ideas on the role of the school. He believed in putting a "heavy emphasis on citizenship training and character formation" to develop a homogeneous citizenship. Hygiene and Temperance and its stress on "control of appetites" helped fit the child to Goggin's perception of an ideal citizen. Curriculum development was sometimes as much dependent upon what was accepted by the profession generally as it was influenced by local needs and concerns.

In 1904 the province of Alberta was on the eve of entering confederation and the Woman's Christian Temperance Union was on the eve of its formation as an independent organization in the West. Both developments probably contributed to a reassessment of the temperance offerings of the curriculum. When the Federal Government passed its mantle of jurisdiction to the two new provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan, a viable school operation was in place with a department of education headed by a commissioner responsible for the organization, administration and curriculum of the schools under its jurisdiction. Included was the training and certification of teachers, the authorization of textbooks and the conduct of examinations. To make the transition as smooth as possible the new government of the Province of Alberta adopted intact the organization and curriculum of the Northwest Territories. The Premier and Minister of Education, the Hon. A.C. Rutherford, inherited 560 school districts, a curriculum which included reading, spelling, arithmetic, geography, history, nature study, agriculture, drawing, music, hygiene and temperance, the division of school work into standards, and examinations for the upper standards.[91]

The hygiene and temperance course was a compulsory course on the curriculum. The first Alberta Annual Report included a curriculum guide which had copied verbatim from the Territorial material the course in hygiene and physiology. The rationale, the topics to be studied and a method of dividing one room school pupils was mentioned. The teacher was warned against extreme teaching and of the problems connected with children of drinking parents.[92] The Course of Studies and the Annual Examinations for Standard V listed obligatory and optional courses, and required examinations. Although hygiene and temperance was an obligatory course, no examination in it was required. The subject was not mentioned at all in the high school standards.[93] The course of studies for the normal school listed school hygiene as a topic, with these texts: Shaw's School Hygiene; New Century Series of Anatomy; and Physiology and Hygiene. The texts themselves and the examination for the First and Second Class certificates indicated that no temperance material was included in the course. It was devoted strictly to the hygiene of the schoolroom and the health of the pupils.[94]

NWT had transferred to Alberta its temperance programme - a course on the books, but which in reality was "in name only." Taught spasmodically, at the whim of the teacher, who had no training in either content or methodology, to pupils who had no textbook with which to supplement the work and who were not required to write an examination on the subject, the hygiene and temperance course was ineffective. With little grass roots backing and, lacking interested supporters in the ranks of inspectors and other professionals, the course was a neglected part of the curriculum.

At the same time that the transfer from territorial to provincial status was being arranged a revitalized and organized WCTU was coming into existence. The next chapter will detail the kind of organization, the background and interest of the membership, and the priorities of the leaders of the WCTU movement in Alberta.

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER 3

[1] There is a fair amount of material on these beginnings in Canada. See: Letitia Youmans, Campaign Echoes: The Autobiography of Mrs. Letitia Youmans. Toronto: William Briggs, 1893; Mrs. S.G.E. McKee, Jubilee History of the Ontario Woman's Christian Temperance Union, 1877-1927. Whitby, Ontario: C.A. Goodfellow and Son, 1927; Wendy Mitchinson, "Aspects of Reform: Four Women's Organizations in Nineteenth Century Canada," Ph.D. thesis, University of Toronto, 1977; Marcia McGovern, "The Woman's Christian Temperance Union Movement in Saskatchewan, 1886-1930: A Regional Perspective of the International White Ribbon Movement," M.A. thesis, University of Regina, 1977; and letters and pamphlets in the WCTU Archives, Toronto.

[2] See Letitia Youmans, Campaign Echoes, and Mrs. H.G. Willis, Life of Letitia Youmans, pamphlet WCTU Archives. The pledge taken by Band of Hope members read: "I solemnly promise, God being my helper, not to use intoxicating liquors of any kind, not to use tobacco in any form, and never to use bad language." Campaign Echoes, p. 92. For additional information on the Band of Hope movement see: Lilian Lewis Shiman, "The Band of Hope Movement: Respectable Recreation for Working-Class Children," Victorian Studies 17 (Sept. 1973): 49-74.

[3] In Campaign Echoes, Mrs. Youmans devoted a whole chapter to the Chautauqua meeting. It is evident that she must have had pre-conceived notions of the kind of women who were involved in the Women's Crusades. See page 100.

[4] Frances Willard, "Introduction" in Letitia Youmans, Campaign Echoes, pp. VII-XI.

[5] See Wendy Mitchinson, "Aspects of Reform," pp. 154-156. Mitchinson concluded that the response was so great that it indicated that women were concerned and only needed an impetus to prod them into action.

[6] Wendy Mitchinson, "Aspects of Reform," pp. 156-157. This attempt at unity among the Maritime Provinces seemed to have the same success rate as Maritime unity in other areas e.g. political unity and higher education amalgamation.

[7] IBID, pp. 157-158.

[8] "The First Seed in Our History," in Report of the Annual Convention of the Alberta Women's Christian Temperance Union, 1929, p. 45 (hereafter Alta. WCTU AR, 1929, p. 45) and Letitia Youmans, Campaign Echoes, pp. 295-299. In "The First Seed" it is indicated that Youmans formed unions at Morley, Calgary and Regina. In Campaign Echoes she

indicated also stopping at Medicine Hat and Qu'Appelle.

[9] Letitia Youmans, Campaign Echoes, p. 285. Youmans visited British Columbia the following year.

[10] See Wendy Mitchinson, "Aspects of Reform," pp. 159-160 and Marcia McGovern, "The Woman's Christian Temperance Union," p. 54.

[11] IBID, pp. 151-153. The early WCTU leaders in Ontario campaigned for the Dunkin Act, which was a local option law, to be adopted in more areas.

[12] The Christian Guardian, April 8, 1972, p. 108.

[13] Letitia Youmans, Campaign Echoes. Youmans' American activities are found scattered throughout her autobiography.

[14] Report of the Annual Convention of the Dominion Woman's Christian Temperance Union, 1891, p. 6 (hereafter Dominion WCTU AR, 1891); and Report of the First Annual Convention of the Northwest Territories Woman's Christian Temperance Union, 1904, p. 15, Box 6, File 34 (hereafter NWT WCTU AR, 1904).

[15] Letitia Youmans, Campaign Echoes, p. 149.

[16] IBID, p. 206.

[17] Wendy Mitchinson, "Aspects of Reform," p. 222. For an account of the women's suffrage movement in Canada, see Catherine Cleverdon, The Woman Suffrage Movement in Canada. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1950.

[18] Report of the Annual Convention of the Ontario Woman's Christian Temperance Union, 1883 (hereafter Ont. WCTU AR, 1883).

[19] Ruth Spence, Prohibition in Canada. Toronto, 1919.

[20] Mrs. S.G.E. McKee, Jubilee History of the Ontario Woman's Christian Temperance Union.

[21] J. Donald Wilson, et al. (eds.) Canadian Education: A History. Scarborough: Prentice-Hall, 1970, p. 215. For material on Egerton Ryerson see also: Neil McDonald and Alf Chaiton, Egerton Ryerson and His Times. Toronto: Macmillan, 1978; J. Harold Putnam, Egerton Ryerson and Education in Upper Canada. Toronto: William Briggs, 1912; and Alison Prentice, The School Promoters: Education and Social Class in Mid-Nineteenth Century Upper Canada. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977.

[22] J. Donald Wilson, Canadian Education, p. 217.

[23] Egerton Ryerson, Address of his 1847 provincial tour. Cited by Robin S. Harris, "Egerton Ryerson," in R.L. McDougall (ed.), Our Living

Tradition. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959.

[24] Viola Parvin, Authorization of Textbooks for the Schools of Ontario, 1846-1950. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965, pp. 20-21.

[25] Egerton Ryerson, "Special Report" to the Governor and Legislature of 1847, in J.G. Hodgins (ed.) Documentary History of Education in Upper Canada. Toronto: 1896-1910, Vol. 7, p. 110. Cited in D. Lawr and R. Gidney, Educating Canadians: A Documentary History of Public Education. Toronto: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1973, p. 55.

[26] IBID.

[27] Satu Repo, "From Pilgrim's Progress to Sesame Street: 125 Years of Colonial Readers," in This Magazine, Vol. 7, No. 2, p. 12.

[28] Viola Parvin, Authorization of Textbooks, pp. 26-28.

[29] Satu Repo, "From Pilgrim's Progress," p. 12.

[30] The following texts were used to support the lack of temperance: First Book of Lessons, 1864; Second Book of Lessons, 1858; Third Reading Book, 1867; and Fourth Reading Book, 1870. These are available in the special textbook collection at the Ontario Institute for the Study of Education (OISE).

[31] Donald H. Akenson, The Irish Education Experiment: The National System of Education in the Nineteenth Century. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970, Chapter VI.

[32] John H. Westerhoff III, McGuffey and His Readers: Piety, Morality and Education in Nineteenth Century America. Nashville: Abingdon, 1978, p. 21.

[33] Lindley Murray, The English Reader. Toronto: Leslie Brothers, 1844.

[34] Viola Parvin, Authorization of Textbooks, p. 13.

[35] In 1865 Ryerson called two of the committee members, the Reverend Doctors McCaul and Ormiston "two of the most experienced instructors of youth in Upper Canada...." Egerton Ryerson, Report of the Chief Superintendent, 1865, p. 10. Cited in Viola Parvin, Authorization of Textbooks, p. 50. There were two other sets of readers approved in 1883 for one year only: Gage's Canadian Series and the Royal Readers.

[36] Ontario Readers in one form or another were still being used in 1939. See Viola Parvin, Authorization of Textbooks, p. 53.

[37] IBID, pp. 66-68.

[38] For this summary of virtues and vices I used First Reader, Part II, 1884; Third Reader, 1885 and Fourth Reader, 1885. The Ontario Department of Education Annual Report for 1896 indicated temperance as one of the virtues the teachers had to instill and to enforce this instruction the Report listed various selections that would appeal to the child's moral and religious nature. None of the selections had temperance as a theme.

[39] S.G.E. McKee, Jubilee History of the Ontario Woman's Christian Temperance Union and Ruth Spence, Prohibition in Canada.

[40] Marcia McGovern, "The Woman's Christian Temperance Union," p. 58.

[41] S.G.E. McKee, Jubilee History of the Ontario Woman's Christian Temperance Union, 1887 summary.

[42] Marcia McGovern, "The Woman's Christian Temperance Union," p. 59.

[43] See S.G.E. McKee, Jubilee History of the Ontario Woman's Christian Temperance Union, 1893 summary, and William Nattress, Public School Physiology and Temperance. Toronto: William Briggs, 1893.

[44] Minister of Education of Ontario, Annual Report for 1896, p. XVII (hereafter Ont. Ed. AR, 1896). See also Department of Education, Ontario, County Model Schools: Syllabus, Text Books and Course Outlines, for the years 1886 through 1898 for a sampling of examination papers on Hygiene.

[45] See "Work of the St. Catherine's WCTU," handwritten, undated manuscript in Emma A. Currie Papers, MG 27 II, F5, Vol. 3, Public Archives of Canada; and Ont. ED. AR, 1904, p. XXVIII for examples of teacher and trustee objections.

[46] S.G.E. McKee, Jubilee History of the Ontario Woman's Christian Temperance Union, 1900 summary, 1901 summary.

[47] Ont. Ed. AR, 1904, p. XXVIII, and S.G.E. McKee, Jubilee History of the Ontario Woman's Christian Temperance Union, 1901 summary.

[48] Ont. Ed. AR, 1904, p. XXIX.

[49] S.G.E. McKee, Jubilee History of the Ontario Woman's Christian Temperance Union, 1900 summary.

[50] Wendy Mitchinson, "Aspects of Reform."

[51] In the United States local sentiment exerted a significant influence on the schools; local politics affected standards and courses; and lay political groups were active in school matters. The outcome of this decentralized power was that schools had to react to the wishes

of their clientele, rather than to those of some central body of professionals or bureaucrats. See Theodore R. Sizer, Secondary Schools at the Turn of the Century. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1964, pp. 18-38; and A.D.C. Petersen, A Hundred Years of Education. New York: Collie Books, 1962, pp. 63-77.

[52] See two papers by R.D. Gidney and the late D. Lawr, "Who Ran the Schools? Local vs. Central Control of Policy Making in Nineteenth Century Ontario," read at Canadian Association of Foundations of Education annual meeting, London, Ontario, June 1978, and "Bureaucracy vs. Community? The Origins of Bureaucratic Procedure in the Upper Canadian School System," Journal of Social History (in press).

[53] See Letitia Youmans, Campaign Echoes, Chapters XIX and XX; Alberta WCTU, The Story of the Years, 1913-1963, p. 7; Saskatchewan WCTU, A Brief History of the WCTU in Saskatchewan. WCTU papers, Archives of Saskatchewan, Regina (hereafter A/S(R)).

[54] The actual number of unions in existence by 1903 is unclear. Mrs. Craig, superintendent of the North West Territories said in her 1904 address to the first territorial convention that there were seventeen unions, five of which were inactive. In this group was Pincher Creek and Yorkton which were not mentioned in A Brief History of the WCTU in Saskatchewan. Fern L. Barnes in A Centennial Mosaic, 1874-1974 claimed there were twenty unions.

[55] See A Brief History of the WCTU in Saskatchewan and Alberta WCTU, The Story of the Years. Marcia McGovern credits Mrs. Olive Monger as the author of Saskatchewan's A Brief History. Marcia McGovern, "The Woman's Christian Temperance Union," p. 102. Fern Barnes in A Centennial Mosaic, 1874-1974 credits Mrs. R.C. Thompson, who was Saskatchewan president from 1969-1973.

[56] L.H. Thomas, The Struggle for Responsible Government in the North-West Territories, 1870-97. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1956, p. 104.

[57] A.D. Selinger, "Contributions of D.J. Goggin to the Development of Education in the Northwest Territories, 1893-1902," M.Ed. thesis, University of Alberta, 1960.

[58] See L.H. Thomas, The Struggle for Responsible Government, and L.A. Daniels, "The History of Education in Calgary," M.Ed. thesis, University of Washington, 1954.

[59] For material on Sifton's immigration policy see Robert Craig Brown and Ramsay Cook, Canada, 1896-1921: A Nation Transformed. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974, pp. 54-56 and A.R.M. Lower, Colony to Nation. Toronto: Longmans, 1946, pp. 441-444.

[60] Report of the Royal Commission on the Liquor Traffic, "North-West Territories," Sessional Papers (No. 21) 1895, p. 175ff.

[61] Marcia McGovern, "The Woman's Christian Temperance Union," pp. 104-105.

[62] Alberta WCTU, The Story of the Years, p. 7 and NWT WCTU AR, 1904, p. 15.

[63] Report of the Royal Commission on the Liquor Traffic, pp. 184-186.

[64] Lewis H. Thomas, The North West Territories, 1870-1905, Canadian Historical Association Booklets, No. 26, Ottawa, 1970, p. 14.

[65] Henry James Morgan, The Canadian Men and Women of the Times: A Handbook of Canadian Biography of Living Characters. Toronto: William Briggs, 1912.

[66] He served on many boards and committees including: Councils of Manitoba University and St. John's College; the Advisory Board of Education; examiner of the University and the Department of Education; president of the Provincial Teachers' Association and the Dominion Educational Association.

[67] Neil McDonald, "David J. Goggin: Promoter of National Schools," in Robert S. Patterson et al. (eds.), Profiles of Canadian Educators. Toronto: D.C. Heath, 1974, p. 182.

[68] Northwest Territories, Council of Public Instruction, Annual Report, 1896, p. 28 (hereafter NWT CPI AR, 1896, p. 28); and 1898, p. 25.

[69] Perhaps the biggest administrative complaint throughout the early school years in the West was the difficulty of securing enough educated teachers. Time and again the Annual Reports refer to this problem.

[70] There was a reference book for the teacher, either the Ontario Manual of Hygiene or the Ontario Public School Physiology and Temperance, but nothing for the pupils.

[71] See Chapter 1, footnote 18 and Chapter 3, footnote 8.

[72] NWT CPI AR, 1896, p. 28.

[73] IBID, pp. 28-29.

[74] NWT CPI AR, 1900, p. 21.

[75] IBID, p. 60.

[76] Ernest Hodgson, "Nature and Purposes of Alberta's Schools, 1885-1963," Ph.D. thesis, University of Alberta, 1964, p. 88.

[77] NWT CPI AR, 1900, pp. 47-48.

[78] Northwest Territories, Department of Education, Annual Report, 1902, pp. 25-26 (hereafter NWT Ed. AR, 1902, pp. 25-26).

[79] NWT CPI AR, 1900, pp. 82-83 (Appendix G - Public School Leaving Examinations).

[80] NWT Ed. AR, 1902, p. 26.

[81] NWT Ed. AR, 1903, p. 54.

[82] NWT CPI AR, 1898, 1900, and NWT Ed. AR, 1903.

[83] William Nattress, Public School Physiology and Temperance. Toronto: William Briggs, 1893, p. 14.

[84] IBID, p. 38.

[85] IBID, p. 90.

[86] IBID, p. 79.

[87] NWT Ed. AR, 1903, p. 18. Perusal of the examinations' appendix showed no "hygiene and temperance" examination. The other examination dropped was in "Principles of Reading."

[88] For this synthesis I used Ontario First Reader, Part II, 1884; Third Reader, 1885, and Fourth Reader, 1885. See also Nancy M. Sheehan, "Character Training and the Cultural Heritage: An Historical Comparison of Canadian Elementary Readers," in G.S. Tomkins (ed.), The Curriculum in Canada in Historical Perspective, C.S.S.E. Yearbook, 1979, pp. 77-84. Although this work uses the Alexandra Readers, they were indebted to the Ontario series, and the content and sentiment of both compare.

[89] Marcia McGovern, "The Woman's Christian Temperance Union," pp. 111-112.

[90] A history of the Regina local was not found, however the Provincial Archives of Saskatchewan at Saskatoon has a newspaper clipping file on the WCTU. Being one of the very few active women's groups at the turn of the century, the Regina local received a lot of newspaper coverage. Scientific Temperance Instruction was not mentioned.

[91] John W. Chalmers, Schools of the Foothills Province. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967, pp. 25-26.

[92] Alberta Department of Education, Annual Report, 1906, pp. 91-92 (hereafter Alta. Ed. AR, 1906, pp. 91-92).

[93] IBID, p. 96. Hygiene and Temperance was listed as a compulsory course for Standard V, but no examination was required. Agriculture and geometry were listed as optional courses, but examinations were offered in these. (Standards I through V were the equivalent of the eight grade elementary school. Standards VI, VII and VIII were the

high school equivalents.)

[94] Alta. Ed. AR, 1906, p. 107. The Normal School examination on "Hygiene and Physical Culture" asked five questions on methodology and content dealing with school hygiene.

CHAPTER 4

THE WCTU IN ALBERTA:
ITS ORGANIZATION, MEMBERSHIP, AND ACTIVITIES

The languishing WCTU's in the Northwest Territories received inspiration, revitalization and organizational leadership when Mrs. Craig moved to Alberta from the East and took over the reins of the organization. Within a year of her arrival the first convention was held and the WCTU on the Prairies was on its way to becoming a vital voice in the chorus of reform evident after 1900. This first convention established the progressive philosophy of the Union which was maintained by the Alberta group after the two provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan were created.

Under the leadership of Mrs. Louise McKinney, and the active participation and/or support from the other "famous five" of the 1929 Persons Case, the Alberta WCTU adopted a progressive philosophy and led the mainly urban or small town based, Protestant, middle class members to agitate for government imposed prohibition. Concentrating their efforts in the areas of prohibition, the franchise, work among foreigners and scientific temperance instruction the WCTU took seriously the watchwords "legislate, agitate, educate." With the motto "For God, and Home, and Country" these women were willing to leave the home and fight for the values they believed would benefit the home and therefore the country. In doing so they extended the maternal role beyond the traditional one of charitable activities. Particularly, did this role extension effect the public school.

TERRITORIAL ORGANIZATION

Background

Mrs. S.J. Craig, an energetic social reformer, often referred to as a "veritable female David," who took over the WCTU work in 1903, provided inspiration, revitalization and organization to the unions, which were small, languishing and discouraged because they believed "the liquor traffic was becoming a power of evil in their midst."[1] She immediately opened correspondence with all the unions, began agitating for a territorial convention, and preparing for an organizational, fact-finding and inspirational tour. In October 1904 at the opening of the first conference Mrs. Craig summarized her activities:

9 Weeks absence from home on WCTU work
22 Towns visited, several of them twice
51 Meetings held
2368 Miles traveled in interests of work
5000 Pages of literature distributed
509 Letters and post cards written
5 New unions organized - Fort Saskatchewan, Didsbury, Nanton and Lethbridge, in Alberta; and Medicine Hat, Assiniboia
1 Union (Moosomin) reorganized
1 Loyal Temperance Legion organized at Qu'Appelle
Subscriptions for "The Canadian White Ribbon Tidings" and new members secured at nearly every place.

The results of the correspondence and the travel tour were twenty unions, with 308 members, holding 147 business meetings and 36 public ones, taking 51 copies of "Canadian White Ribbon Tidings," and operating sixteen departments of work.[2] Thus, the Territories quickly became a vital temperance bastion just as immigration produced a virtual onslaught of newcomers, with various languages, cultures and values. With Mrs. Craig at the helm the WCTU in the North West Territories was ready and willing to withstand an assault on the evangelical views of propriety and morality. This view did not include drinking as an acceptable social activity.

From 1903 through the 1920's the WCTU organization on the Prairie was an active one. The membership increased each year, the number of unions grew, "departments of work" were added as interests broadened, and it became involved in areas that were not prohibitionist in the strict sense, e.g. the Direct Legislation Act, which allowed the people to decide an issue by referendum, and the Suffrage movement, which would extend the franchise to women. Both of these were political involvements, which in the end would aid the prohibitionists' cause. They also, in the words of W.L. Morton, weakened the spirit of partisanship in politics and impaired the functioning of the two-party system.[3] Thomas concurred, saying "that there was a substantial coincidence between those interested in moral causes such as prohibition and political innovations such as direct legislation and women's suffrage, and those who gave a sympathetic ear to criticisms of the traditional parties for their failure to take bold action in the cause of progress."[4] Morton in talking about the general reform movement of the early twentieth century, believed it to be a demand for positive state action with respect to such matters as the prohibition of the sale of alcoholic liquor, the promotion of social welfare and the cleansing of political life. It was most active in the West, and achieved success there earlier, because of recent immigration and political grievances.[5] The WCTU, after 1903, was a part of this social reform movement in the West, participating in the demand for state action and contributing to the weakened state of the traditional political parties. Perhaps it is not a coincidence that the West which legislated prohibition and female suffrage before the rest of country was also the part of the country which later.opted for non-traditional political parties like the Social Credit and the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (CCF). Although the WCTU does not seem to have played a direct role in the political arena, it did help effect political change by legislation such as the Direct Legislation Act, by backing certain candidates for office, by some of its leadership becoming candidates in provincial elections and by generally joining the chorus of reform and protest evident after 1900. First, however, to be effective the scattered WCTU locals needed a rallying point in the form of an annual meeting.

First WCTU Convention in the West

A year after her arrival in the West Mrs. Craig called a convention of Territorial WCTU unions in Calgary's First Baptist Church for October, 1904.[6] Of the twenty-one unions organized by this time fourteen sent representatives. Most of these were Alberta unions reflecting the long distances and the increased costs of travelling from Saskatchewan points. However, Saskatchewan unions were represented with delegates from Regina and Grenfell, a small town on the CPR near the Manitoba-Saskatchewan border. The convention agreed that a Territorial organization was needed, with an elected executive, supported by formal resolutions and a plan of work. The first executive was:

Mrs. S.J. Craig, Olds - President
Mrs. G.H.V. Bulyea, Regina - 1st Vice-President
Mrs. D.A. Sharpe, Wetaskiwin - Corresponding Secretary
Mrs. L.C. McKinney, Claresholm - Recording Secretary
Mrs. Thos. Bellamy, Edmonton - Treasurer
Mrs. Geo. Powell, Grenfell - "Y" Secretary.[7]

From the beginning the Union advocated legal prohibition, the extension of the franchise to women, social reform generally, and a temperance program for the schools. From these principles they did not waver over the years despite many changes in their fortunes. Adopting the motto "For God, and Home, and Canada," they passed the following resolutions at that first convention:

1. That we acknowledge God as our leader in all things....
2. That as an organization we urge that men and women everywhere shall practise and encourage total abstinence from alcoholic drinks, and in view of the fact that the liquor traffic is morally wrong, and therefore can never be made legally right, we stand for the entire prohibition of its manufacture, sale and use.
3. That we put forth the most strenuous efforts for the enforcement of the present law against the sale of cigarettes to minors....
4. That we guard our Lord's day....
5. That our women be urged to use the limited franchise we have, and continue our efforts for the full enfranchisement of our sex, knowing that it is one of our strongest weapons in the battle for the reforms we are seeking.
6. That we earnestly ... discourage the use of bird plummage for millinery purposes, and that we encourage the formation of humane societies and bands of mercy.
7. That we declare ourselves as opposed to alcohol in medicine, and as especially opposed to alcoholic patent medicines.[8]

With experienced WCTU members from Ontario, Quebec and the United States in attendance an ambitious Plan of Work was adopted, reflecting the experience of the older national and internation unions. It read in part:

> 2. ... that every union accept as its battle-cry an increased spirituality among our membership.
>
> 3. That mothers' meetings be held....
>
> 4. That work among the young be taken up.
>
> 5. That local unions interest themselves in securing the distribution of literature among ranchers and construction camps, and place literature boxes in railway stations.
>
> 7. That we agitate for woman's suffrage in the Territories by circulating literature on the subject....
>
> 8. That temperance work in Sabbath schools be taken up in rural villages....
>
> 9. That reading rooms be opened wherever possible, as a counter attraction to the saloon....
>
> 13. That we agitate for the observance of the curfew bell.
>
> 14. That we endeavor to secure a prohibiting clause in the constitution when the Territories become a province.
>
> 20. That a vigilance committee be formed in every town....[9]

To utilize this plan fifteen departments of work were established, each headed by a superintendent, again a reflection of the organizational dimension of the older WCTU parent unions. It also reflected the immaturity and small numbers of the North West Territory group, for the United States' unions listed as many as forty-five departments of work and in Canada the Dominion WCTU operated twenty-six departments in 1891.[10] Presumably, it also indicated that local WCTU's did not follow the older unions indiscriminately, but adapted the national/international programme at the grass roots level to local circumstances and individual need and ability. In this case the choice of departments depended on finding a superintendent. The fifteen departments were:

Evangelistic Work
Purity and Mothers' Meetings
Loyal Temperance Instruction
Sunday School Work
Press Work
Flower, Fruit and Delicacies
Parlor Meetings
Scientific Temperance Instruction
"Y" WCTU Branch
Lord's Day Observance
Anti-Narcotics
Literature (English and Foreign)
Exhibition and Fairs
Franchise
Railroad Work

Besides these working departments and the executive committee, there was established also a Plan of Work and a Resolutions Committee, an organizer, an auditor, and an Official Reporter for the Canadian White Ribbon Tidings.[11] Although the fifteen departments of work increased in number over the years, and the resolutions and plan of work committees submitted modified updated versions each year, the organizational structure of the North West Territories WCTU established in 1904 guided the Union without major change through the 1920's. A change of name occurred in 1905 with the formation of the two prairie provinces and the Alberta-Saskatchewan WCTU continued until 1912. At that time, with ninety-five unions, and 1,542 active members the decision was made to form separate provincial unions. The growth of unions and members and the vast distances involved suggested a division would be profitable as Alberta and Saskatchewan each had four districts in operation. Although the annual meeting places alternated between Alberta and Saskatchewan each year, they normally attracted the majority of delegates from the province in which the meeting was held. Another reason for division, although not mentioned in the WCTU papers, might have been differences of interest between the unions in the two provincial regions. For example, after separation it became clear that the Alberta WCTU spent a lot of time and energy on legislative and educational changes, while the Saskatchewan WCTU concentrated on charitable and informal youth work.[12]

A number of reasons could be responsible for this different attitude, including the origin of both the anglo-saxon and the foreign population, the dependency of the organization on other groups, and the leadership of the Provincial WCTU. Although both provinces received immigrants from Ontario and the United States, the larger proportion of American immigrants was found in Alberta.[13] The longer association with the WCTU in the United States, and the more militant attitude among American temperance workers, influenced the Alberta organization to take more militant stands. The two unions also reacted differently to other groups. For example, the Regina union was willing to affiliate with a chapter of the Local Council of Women, despite the Dominion Association's reluctance to join the National Council, especially after Lady Aberdeen, its founder, spoke openly against the principle of total abstinence and against WCTU methods.[14] The Alberta union certainly believed in cooperating with other groups, but only to help achieve its own purposes. Perhaps the strongest reason for differing policies in WCTU work between the two provinces were the differences in the membership, and in the leaders.

MEMBERSHIP

Leader - Mrs. Louise Crummy McKinney

The first WCTU superintendent for the North West Territories was Mrs. Andrews of Qu'Appelle in the Saskatchewan region, whose tenure of office was not spectacular. Hampered by distances, a small population and a prohibition law which failed, she was not overly effective and the existing unions languished. In contrast to Mrs. Andrews, Mrs. Craig of Olds, Alberta, had Dominion experience, inexhaustible time and energy and was thoroughly devoted to temperance work. Under her guiding hand the unions in the Territories were revitalized and grew steadily. In 1908 when Mrs. Craig stepped down as president there were 57 unions with 872 members, an increase of 36 unions and 564 members in four years. The second president of the WCTU on the Prairies was also from Alberta, Mrs. Louise McKinney of Claresholm, who perhaps best of all typifies the kind of activist woman found in Alberta during these years.[15]

Mrs. J.C. McKinney, neé Louise Crummy, the organizer and president of the Claresholm local of the WCTU attended the first territorial convention, there accepting the executive position of recording secretary, agreeing to convene the 1905 Resolutions Committee, and being appointed superintendent of the Scientific Temperance Instruction (STI) department. Mrs. McKinney was born in Ontario in 1868, the sixth of ten children of an Irish immigrant, a farmer, and a strict Methodist.[16] Although Louise had had ambitions of being a doctor, she attended the Ottawa Normal School and taught for a number of years in Ontario, and then North Dakota, where she lived with a married sister. Her Methodist upbringing, her own intense nature, and the religious fervor of the times produced in Louise a missionary zeal and she became very active in the work of the Methodist church. While teaching in North Dakota she developed an interest in the WCTU, eventually resigning her teaching position to accept the post of State Evangelist in which her duties included travelling the state, organizing, cajoling, and preaching the WCTU message. In 1898 she became the First District President in North Dakota and in 1899 attended the Silver Jubilee

National Convention held in Seattle. In the meantime she had married James McKinney, who had also been born in Ontario, of Irish descent and the Methodist faith. Their only child was named Willard, after Frances Willard, the well-known American WCTU leader.

Moving to Claresholm in 1903, the McKinney's became immediately involved in community activities, helping to establish the first church in their town. She became a leader in the Ladies' Aid and the Women's Missionary Society, and supported many charitable activities. Mr. McKinney taught a Bible class in the Sunday School while his wife, Louise, was Primary Superintendent. She supported the Church Union movement, was a delegate to the last Methodist General Conference in 1925 and was the only woman to sign the Basis of Union of the first General Council of the United Church.

In Claresholm Louise helped found a WCTU and she was its president from 1903 to 1930. Encouraging the formation of a territorial union at the Convention and accepting a number of executive and committee posts were the beginnings of a long public career in the Canadian West. When Mrs. Craig, the first president, retired in 1908, Louise became president of the Alberta-Saskatchewan Union and vice-president of the Dominion organization, a position she continued to fill until 1930 when she became acting President of the Canadian WCTU, succeeding to this post on the sudden death of Mrs. Sara Rowell Wright. She hosted the 1931 World WCTU convention in Toronto and was elected a vice-president of that organization. This life of devotion to her religion, to the WCTU and to prohibition ceased with her sudden death in 1931.

Besides these areas of interest Louise McKinney also became involved in politics. Shortly after prohibition and women's suffrage legislation was passed, she became a supporter of the Non-Partisan League and in 1917 was elected as a League candidate in the provincial election. Not only the first woman MLA in Alberta, she was also the first woman legislator in the British Empire. In this capacity she worked to reform laws concerning women and children, and with Mrs. Henrietta Muir Edwards, drafted a bill regarding dower rights. Mrs. McKinney introduced it to the legislature and the "Dower Act" was regarded as one of Alberta's "most progressive laws." D.H. Galbraith, in an interview in 1962, remembered Louise McKinney as a good legislator, good at drafting legislation and knowledgeable in the legislative language and terms of government. Dr. Hugh Dobson in an address at her Memorial Service said that "her strength in the house was so clearly recognized that those who opposed that movement, [suffrage] along with the liquor interests concentrated their attack upon her...." She was defeated in 1921 after only one term. Although this ended her formal political career she continued to ask the government for legislative changes. She was one of the "famous five" in the Persons Case in 1929, when the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in England, then Canada's highest court of appeal, declared women to be persons and eligible to sit on the Senate of Canada.

In an address at Louise McKinney's memorial service in Edmonton, Dr. Dobson spoke of five major movements that she supported:

> 1. The help of youth - never has the education of our young people seemed so important or so necessary as at present. Her soul was back of every constructive movement for youth and indomitably set against every organized business that had to flourish on the destruction of youth whether that business was private or under the Government of the land.
>
> 2. The emancipation of women - she labored without ceasing.... Her voice was heard in the general Council of her church for

the removal of barriers for the ordination of women, as one of five Alberta women, in the non-partisan league, and as first elected MLA in the British Empire.

3. The liberation of humanity from its bondage to the evil habit of drink. She was at one time president of the Alberta Prohibition Association, and the WCTU.
4. The development of high citizenship and an electorate free from the stain of corruption of party politics through her membership in the Non-Partisan League.
5. A winsome, but fearless and confident Christian Evangelism - a fellow member of the General Board of Evangelism and Social Service of the United Church of Canada.[17]

All these five McKinney supported as WCTU leader. The education of children, the emancipation of women and the liberation of humanity from its bondage to the evil habit of drink were stated goals of the WCTU - each one supporting the other. Her interest in the non-partisan league probably had two origins - one, her years in the United States when the Progressive movement was in full swing and secondly, her continued frustrations at the hands of government and politicians in her request for prohibition, suffrage, and STI legislation. Her Christian Evangelism kept her going and was an umbrella which shielded her from the defeats and disappointments in her work.

McKinney was not alone in Alberta in her beliefs. As in the United States, feminists and prohibition workers were often one and the same, drawing on one another for support, and promoting both goals. The most prominent western feminists seemed to have regarded the WCTU as an attractive, worthwhile and important organization. Since there were many articulate Albertan women this may account for the more militant nature of the WCTU in that province. A significant proportion of women who made a special contribution to society were both Albertans and members of the WCTU. For example, two of McKinney's collaborators in the famous Persons Case, Henrietta Edwards and Nellie McClung, were active prohibitionists and had spent some time in leadership roles in the WCTU. The other members, Emily Murphy and Irene Parlby, do not seem to have been members, but they did advocate support for various WCTU resolutions.[18]

Leaders - Others

Mrs. Henrietta Muir Edwards was a member of the MacLeod WCTU and headed the Franchise department for the Alberta-Saskatchewan Provincial Union. Mrs. Edwards claimed that the franchise was necessary in order for western women to maintain high moral standards. In an address to the 1907 convention in Edmonton she argued that the vote in the hands of the women would strengthen the power of men "in all that stands for right and justice." She maintained that existing methods of action open to women were too slow, time consuming and ineffective. Direct power would be much more effective than personal influence and petitioning in obtaining good government and passing legislation that would improve society.[19] In 1909 she drew up and circulated "The Petition of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union for Municipal Franchise for Married Women Owning Property."[20] Mrs. Edwards was Alberta vice-president of the National Council of Women, she wrote two books on Canadian laws regarding women and children, and she collaborated with Mrs. McKinney in having the Dower Act passed by the Alberta legislature.[21]

Mrs. Nellie McClung was introduced to the WCTU and the women's rights movement in Manitoba by her mother-in-law, in the 1890's. Throughout the rest of her life, as author, legislator and speaker, she remained closely associated with the WCTU and was an ardent advocate of the franchise for women. Moving to Alberta in 1914 she went to work with a vengeance throughout the province putting tremendous pressure on the Attorney-General. Frank Anderson, author and publisher, remarked in a 1972 television interview that "they passed prohibition to get rid of Nellie McClung." She was elected Liberal member of the Alberta legislature in 1921 and joined with Irene Parlby in getting hot lunches and medical care for school children and a municipal hospital. She was disappointed however, because her pleas for temperance legislation were ignored. "We believed," she wrote later, that "we could shape the world nearer to our heart's desire if we had a dry Canada."[22]

Mrs. Emily Murphy was the real force behind the Person's Case. Wife of an Anglican minister, author of numerous books on social conditions in the West under the penname "Janey Canuck," and first female magistrate in the British Empire, Mrs. Murphy was an outspoken advocate for women's rights. Although she was a prohibitionist her name does not appear on any WCTU membership list. Her sympathies were with the WCTU women and she applauded their efforts at prison reform. She asked the Provincial Union's help in getting "a poor man's lawyer so that women wouldn't be so badly in debt on release and have to go into prostitution." She also wanted the WCTU to interact with both the Women's Institutes and the United Farm Women of Alberta (UFWA) to prevent prostitutes following threshing gangs as "cooks," returning to the city well heeled, at the expense of rural morals. In 1926 Judge Murphy was quoted as saying that in Alberta under government control, "bootlegging has been very largely suppressed; poisoned liquor or substitutes for liquor have disappeared; there is comparatively little drinking among juveniles and less drunkenness and more respect for law."

This kind of a statement would not have been acceptable to the WCTU. It is, perhaps indicative of the changing attitude toward prohibition by some leading Albertans, and a more realistic approach to the alcohol problem, given the status of liquor legislation in the province, by a person who came in contact with lawbreakers daily.[23]

Mrs. Irene Parlby was a charter member of the UFWA, the second provincial president, and a continuing supporter of the movement during her career as Alberta's Minister Without Portfolio from 1921 to 1935.[24] Although there is no evidence to suggest that she was a prohibitionist or a member of a local WCTU, she was very concerned about rural education and supported a number of motions promoting the teaching of hygiene, particularly the bad effects of drugs, alcohol and cigarettes on the human system. She believed that "if we are to rebuild our social structure so that it shall come nearer to the high ideals of a Christian democracy, the bricks with which we build must be the minds and spirits of the young of the nation. We have to develop in them a higher sense of the moral obligations of citizenship."[25] Time and again the UFWA passed resolutions concerning alcohol: to withold permits for alcoholic beverages to be used at picnics and banquets; to do all in our power to abolish beer parlors; to urge the Prohibition League and all citizens to use all means within their power for the further suppression of the Liquor Traffic, especially with regard to our young people; that in the Normal School of the Province more stress be laid on the necessity of teaching hygiene, and particularly the bad effects of drugs, alcohol and cigarettes on the human system; and that a text book be introduced to the schools on the evils of alcohol and tobacco.[26] Given Mrs. Parlby's prominence and interest in the UFWA, particularly its educational aspect, we would have to assume that she supported these kinds of resolutions. Two such resolutions, opposing all forms of liquor advertising and asking the provincial government to submit to the people a plebiscite on the abolition of all licenses to sell beer, originated at a WCTU convention and were subsequently endorsed by the UFWA.[27] Although not a WCTU member, Mrs. Parlby endorsed many of their views and believed in co-operation among the various women's groups.

Another prominent name in the ranks of the WCTU was Mrs. G.H.V. Bulyea, wife of the lieutenant-governor of Alberta, a woman who refused to serve alcohol at government functions, and a leading source of inspiration to fellow temperance workers. Mrs. Bulyea had been president of the Regina local before moving to Edmonton to act as first lady of the province.[28]

These women, with their combined talents, positions and physical location served as leaders to the women of Alberta. A judge, a cabinet minister, two MLA's, two vice-presidents of national organizations, the first lady of the province, three authors, one expert on laws regarding women and children, the leading suffragette in the West, members of various organizations, such as Women's Missionary Societies, Ladies Aid Societies, Local Councils of Women, the United Farm Women of Alberta, Literary Societies and the Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire (IODE), these ladies were visible, active and concerned about social and moral causes.[29] Their ability to speak well, argue forcibly, assemble scientific facts and plead their case to the highest authority meant that Albertan women had leaders who were not satisfied with the missionary, charitable, benevolent aspect of WCTU work. With women like McKinney and McClung leading the way, the Alberta WCTU was a fairly militant organization early on, advocating changing laws and legislating in the private affairs of individuals as well as urging the government to become involved in areas traditionally in the realm of the private sector.

General Membership

Like WCTU members and feminists in the United States these Albertan leaders were generally well-educated, middle-class and middle-aged, at a time in life when child and household responsibilities were not as time consuming. Mrs. McKinney[30] and Mrs. McClung[31] both attended Normal School and taught for a number of years; Mrs. Murphy attended Bishop Strachan School in Toronto[32]; Mrs. Parlby was a well educated English gentlewoman[33] and Mrs. Edwards received her early education in Montreal, finishing it abroad.[34] Among them they married a doctor (Edwards), an Oxford educated farmer (Parlby), an Anglican minister (Murphy), a businessman (McClung) and a homesteader (McKinney). They all had families and either did not become actively involved until their families were older, or they had active encouragement and support from their husbands. This trend to educated, middle-class women as leaders in the WCTU is evident in the provincial executive, in the leadership of the individual locals and in the department superintendents. Although identification can be difficult, one-half of the women on local executives have been identified through their husbands. For the most part these women were wives of middle-class men, of anglo-saxon heritage and small town background. The table of Appendix 1 lists the location of the local, names of WCTU officers, and the occupations of husbands for the year 1914.[35] A random search of executives for other years reveals women with the same characteristics as those of 1914. A quick glance at Appendix 1 supports the contention of middle-class status. Most of the occupations listed were of the business or managerial type. Very few farmers were listed indicating the urban nature of the WCTU. A few qualifications need to be made. Distances in rural Alberta were great, and although the advocates of prohibition found their strongest supporters among farm women in the rural communities, isolation prevented their participation in the WCTU.[36] On the other hand, the fifty percent unidentified women may have been homesteaders whose names do not appear in the traditional gazetteers or local histories. The anglo-saxon nature of the organization also may have discouraged women who immigrated from countries other than Britain. The majority of foreign immigrants took homestead land rather than settling in cities. So for the most part the organization was urban or small town based, middle-class in status, and anglo-saxon in heritage. The last characteristic of the group was its Protestant nature. Wives of Baptist, Presbyterian, and Methodist ministers were active, the conduct of local meetings had a Protestant tone, conferences were held in local Protestant churches, and ministers often opened proceedings with a prayer.[37] As well, Irish Catholic names were noticeably absent from membership lists, as were Jewish ones. The WCTU in Alberta followed the pattern of membership found in the parent organizations.

In other ways, also, it relied on the older national unions for direction, for development, and for methods to assure success. The grass roots organization, with provincial leadership and optional departmental participation, was a strategy of the National WCTU in the U.S. The placing of workers in the field to help organize individual locals was also a methodology employed elsewhere. Asking for and receiving help from the Dominion WCTU in the form of money, helpers, and literature directly linked the prairie organization with the Dominion Union. Attendance at Dominion conventions, having a vice-president of the Dominion organization on their own executive, subscribing to the national magazine, The White Ribbon Tidings, also helped keep Albertan members abreast of national and world developments. However, despite these contacts and shared goals, individual provincial unions had the same freedom as the local unions to chart a plan of work, to decide where emphasis should be laid, to affiliate with other organizations to their own benefit, and to develop strategies for success. The Alberta Provincial Union, although it had twenty or more departments of work, tended to concentrate its efforts in these areas: legislation and petition; franchise and citizenship; work among foreigners or the Canadianization department; and the department of scientific temperance instruction.

DEPARTMENTS OF WORK

Legislation and Petition

The ability of a Provincial union on the Prairies to support both prohibition, via legislation and petition, and women's suffrage, through the department of franchise and citizenship, the two most controversial social reforms of the turn of the century, testifies to both the strength of the organization and the newness of the prairie society. In her president's address at the 1905 convention, Mrs. S.J. Craig implored: "Let us keep before us the standard of Total Abstinence for the individual and Prohibition for the nation, beginning the training in the home.... No compromise with the traffic is our battle cry."[38] Early in 1905 the Alberta-Saskatchewan executive had cooperated with the Royal Templars of Temperance (RT of T), a male prohibition association, to help elect temperance men to the new provinces' first governments. In Alberta Mr. Parken of the RT of T Committee and Mrs. Craig of the WCTU met and suggested: "That we work for the election of temperance men irrespective of party. That temperance meetings be held and literature distributed. That an appeal be sent out for funds, speakers put in the field and suitable literature procured for distribution." An Alberta prohibition committee was formed.[39] The new lieutenant governor appointed by Ottawa, G.H.V. Bulyea, was a strong temperance man as was Premier A.C. Rutherford of Strathcona, Honourable W.N. Cushing, Minister of Public Works, and Mr. R.B. Bennett, both of Calgary. Although the members were happy with this knowledge, they hoped there were others unknown to them. How much of the efforts of the Alberta Prohibition Committee contributed to these elections is unknown, but since Bulyea, Rutherford and Cushing were appointed the Committee probably had little effect.[40]

A WCTU committee was also appointed to work with the temperance committees of the various churches, particularly the Temperance and Moral Reform Committee of the Methodist Church. Dr. Chown, the Methodist superintendent was pleased with an amendment in 1906 which made it impossible for an application to be made for a tavern outside an organized municipality.[41] By 1908 the Union was beginning to take more of an interest in Local Option legislation by which a municipality could vote against a liquor or beer establishment. But the president advised caution noting that to be successful in a Local Option campaign the "hearty cooperation of all the moral forces of the community" were needed. She also warned that "not many votes can be made during the heat of a campaign, but that men vote according to principles previously established, so that now is the time for us to circulate literature and sow the seed...."[42] The women quickly realized that Local Option fights were tough and often not successful. By the time they understood their position and what was wrong with the Local Option clause the government had passed The Direct Legislation Act and the WCTU became the first organization in the province to definitely announce a prohibition campaign: "Recommended that the local unions of Alberta join in a campaign to bring about Provincial Prohibition in the near future. This campaign is to consist principally in educating the public along the lines of prohibition and in raising funds necessary to supply literature for this purpose to be distributed free in all parts of the province."[43] In the meanwhile, the Temperance and Moral Reform League of Alberta, formed in 1907 as a centralized organization representing Protestant Churches and other interested associations, held mass rallies, drummed up support, and kept prohibition interest high. The success of the Temperance and Moral Reform League was probably due to its organization and the manner in which individual groups, like the WCTU, could work with the League and still continue as independent agencies. Although the League claimed responsibility for the Direct Legislation Act of 1913, Robert McLean in his thesis on prohibition in Alberta credits Mrs. Craig and the WCTU with turning around the fortunes of prohibitionists in Alberta, with launching the "grass roots" drive for a Direct Legislation Act, and with being the backbone of the temperance and prohibition movement.[44] Shortly after the WCTU's resolution on Provincial Prohibition in 1913, the League also adopted a like policy and the campaign was underway. Support from the United Farmers' Organization, the opposition Conservatives, and the Social Gospel movement which wanted better moral and social conditions, helped secure many names to a referendum petition. Presented with the petition, the government authorized the vote for July 21, 1915. Support for prohibition was widespread and a plurality of 58,295 votes convinced the government to legislate Prohibition effective July 1, 1916.[45] How convinced the people of the province were by the 'dry' campaign itself is unclear. To blame drink for all the ills of society - crime, immorality and poverty - and to eliminate them by eliminating the source was a naive explanation and an unworkable solution to the troubles of society. Even the WCTU believed all were not convinced. It would take education to keep prohibition as law. In The Story of the Years the Alberta chronicles characterized 1915 as "the year of the great victory of Prohibition, the result largely of the war proclamation by Mackenzie King, together with the persistent campaign of education by the WCTU and others."[46] Probably people voted for the referendum because temperance forces argued effectively that the country needed the wheat, the manpower hours, and the energy that went into alcohol manufacture, sale and consumption. Appeals to the spirit of patriotism and self-sacrifice were convincing. People who had not been convinced by social, moral and religious reasons were persuaded by patriotic ones. Besides a goodly number of men aged eighteen to forty, the prime drinking age, were overseas serving in the Armed Services, and could not be an effective opposition.[47]

Louise McKinney in addressing the Provincial Union on "the great victory" suggested a number of reasons for success: the findings of science ... regarding the true nature of alcohol; the ever increasing demand for efficiency in every department of the world's work; the ever increasing power of the liquor traffic; the high handed methods used in furthering the trade's own ends; the European war which taught that the state has a right to take such action as will best conserve its forces for the national good, and has demonstrated the soundness of the principle of prohibition; and a campaign conducted with a harmonious combination of the forces of righteousness and a keen sense of individual responsibility.[48] And yet prohibition was short lived. In October 1920 the electorate in Alberta voted for a permanent policy of prohibition as distinguished from the war time emergency policy, but with a reduced majority. In November 1923, a further referendum resulted in the adoption of a government control policy, and the Provincial Liquor Commission went into business in May of 1924.[49] Prohibition had been defeated.

Any number of reasons have been offered for this upset from a maturing society no longer in need of restrictive legislation to produce a civilized atmosphere to the difficulties of law enforcement and the number of respectable citizens trying to get around the law. In the end probably the biggest single factor was the war. It produced the climate that made government interference in private and business matters acceptable, and the war induced an atmosphere of self-sacrifice. With the war over the climate to retain prohibition was also over. Even the WCTU was affected by the war time fervour. Many of their temperance like activities were put aside in favor of Red Cross and other charitable works. In 1918 union after union reported Red Cross, patriotic and war work, and prisoner-of-war activity.[50] The Loyal Temperance Legion (LTL) superintendent in 1919 indicated that patriotic work had meant that her department had not prospered.[51] The war also interrupted the work among foreigners and the head of that department suggested "it might be well even in war time for a few of us to devote ourselves to night classes or some other scheme of helping our foreign-speaking sisters."[52] Hospital supplies, hand-knitted socks, bandages, clothing, etc. were donated by WCTU members through the Red Cross Society.[53] The Hillhurst WCTU in Calgary donated two arm chairs and one rocking chair to the Military hospital in Calgary.[54] These examples of activities during the war indicated a trend away from the main work of the WCTU, creating a temperate society. Presumably, to the members, the passage of the Liquor Legislation Act meant their goal had been accomplished, and they had a duty to the war effort. In the long run this probably hastened their decline. From 1500 members in 1915 their numbers had dwindled to 900 in 1919 and although they did pick up strength in the 1920's the same spirit of enthusiasm, self-sacrifice and righteousness was no longer apparent.[55] The war brought the WCTU its greatest hour, but it also contributed to its eventual emasculation.

Franchise and Citizenship

The extension of the franchise to women was also an important part of WCTU work in Alberta, and like prohibition, a successful venture. Wendy Mitchinson suggested that the unsettled newness of the prairies, the high rate of alcohol consumption and the preponderance of foot-loose males encouraged the women of the WCTU to support franchise work in order to establish a more stable environment in which to raise their families.[56] A Department of Equal Franchise and Christian Citizenship was established at the first convention in 1904 and put in the hands of Mrs. Henrietta Muir Edwards of MacLeod. In 1905 she became Dominion superintendent also, reporting that Ontario was very active, but that there was little interest elsewhere.[57] The activity in Alberta started slowly with interest in Woman's Dower Rights, then the extension of the municipal suffrage to women and finally full suffrage rights. Mrs. Edwards, who was an expert on laws relating to women and children, was concerned that since 1887 no dower rights for married women existed in the territories. They had been summarily removed in 1887 with no compensation, which was a move to control the Indians.[58] Under the leadership of Mrs. Edwards, a petition concerning women's dower, signed by nearly 700 prominent citizens, was presented to Alberta's first parliament. Although it was favorably received no action was taken because of the hurry and rush of the first session.[59] While the dower act was in the hands of the government Mrs. Edwards moved on to requests for municipal franchise. She drew up and circulated a petition asking for municipal franchise for married women owning property. Again no action was forthcoming. These initiatives by the WCTU did, however, begin to attract attention and slowly Local Councils of Women and then the United Farmers of Alberta got into the act. In 1914 the first woman suffrage petition was presented to the Alberta legislature by the Equal Franchise League of Edmonton and the Local Council of Women of Calgary. The WCTU claimed responsibility for 7,000 of the 12,000 signatures. Premier Sifton had two objections to the petition: that it would be expensive to enlarge the electorate; and that the women in the country were not asking for the vote. He also told the delegation that "no contentious question would be introduced during the war...." The reaction among WCTU members was that "the woman's vote and total prohibition ... will be recorded as two of the results of the European war."[60] Thanks to the fledgling United Farm Women of Alberta and the continued support of the United Farmers of Alberta for the women of Alberta the government was convinced of this and full suffrage for women took effect on July 1, 1916.[61] The WCTU's joy knew no bounds. McKinney told her delegates: "Sisters, I wonder if we realize just what a glorious thing it is to be alive at the present moment. History is being made so rapidly that we are overwhelmed by the onward march of events.

> We are living, we are dwelling
> In a grand and awful time,
> In an age or ages telling
> To be living is sublime."[62]

The WCTU supported women's suffrage, not because they wished to upset men's and women's relationships, but because they found they could not count on men to be interested and concerned for the things that upset women. They wanted to make the world more homelike. Concern for the domestic institutions, the children and family, led many a woman to fight for prohibition and suffrage, who otherwise was not that interested in taking a stand. Frances Willard's rationale for feminism was adopted throughout the world and in Alberta McKinney used it to explain the ballot to women. "Were I asked to define in a sentence the thought and purpose of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union I would reply, 'It is to make the world more homelike.' ... No greater good can come to the manhood of the world than is prophesied in the increasing community of thought and work between it and the world's womanhood. The growing individuality, independence and prestige of the gentler sex steadily require from the stronger a higher standard of character and purer habits of life.... The idea was not that the "world shall come into the home, but that the home embodied and impersonated in its womanhood shall go forth into the world."[63] The franchise for women, for example, would strengthen the principle of an equal standard of morals for men and women; bring attention to the need for drastic regulation relating to the treatment of venereal diseases; and help promote sex hygiene courses for boys and girls. Care for the mentally defective, healthy recreation for young people and supervised playgrounds for children were areas of concern to the woman in the home.[64] The extension of suffrage to women seemed to legitimize Woman's Work, and a wide field of endeavor was deemed waiting: "Public Health, Rural Hospitals and Nursing, Mothers' Pensions, Care of the Feeble-Minded, Better Care of Female Offenders, Conditions Surrounding Women Wage-earners in shops and factories."[65] The vote for women meant, particularly for the WCTU women, that they had both a right and an obligation to study seriously and express themselves intelligently on matters which affected women and children in the home, and that this right and obligation was now recognized by those in authority. Women, like prohibition, had achieved status and the organization that campaigned long and hard for both these measures had been successful.

Shortly after this dual victory Emily Murphy was appointed a police magistrate, and in the election of 1917 Louise McKinney was elected an MLA.[66] The optimism of the women was boundless but also short-lived. Prohibition, as we have already mentioned, was defeated in 1923, Louise McKinney only served one term in the legislature, and

Emily Murphy fought for over a decade to have the enfranchised women accepted as persons and on a par with men in the highest courts in the land. After these first hectic years few women were found either in the political arena or in business. Society, generally, and women, in particular, still believed that women belonged in the home. A revealing sketch by J. Kemmis, MLA for Pincher Creek, is of three members of the Legislative Assembly, two gentlemen and a lady (presumably Mrs. McKinney). The caption is: "Who's the interloper?"[67] McKinney considered the most important matters before the MLA's were the extermination of the liquor traffic and a vigorous campaign of law enforcement.[68] Galbraith quotes her as saying "temperance and prohibition are the same thing."[69] She was unyielding in her conviction that alcohol was a menace and prohibition the only answer. Perhaps, part of the reason women made slow progress in achieving equality was the commitment of these early feminists to an unpopular cause and their association with a hard line and rigorously Protestant WCTU. Veronica Strong-Boag concluded that the "caustic tenacity and American connections made it anathema to those ... who stressed sunny ways and British ties."[70] In other words the WCTU helped women achieve equality and recognition legally, while at the same time causing delay in society's widespread acceptance of women as equals in politics, business, and the professions.

Canadianization Department

The third area of particular concern to the Alberta WCTU was the Work Among Foreigners or the Canadianization Department as it was called in the 1920's. The premise of this work was that it was the duty of the members of the WCTU to educate foreigners to citizenship and the Canadian way of life. The western provinces, in particular, had the largest influx of non-English speaking immigrants after the turn of the century. The Dominion superintendent of Foreign Work summarized the philosophy of the Union:

> ... in the West these people from every country under the sun, are coming to us by thousands, coming with their strange speech, and manner and costumes, and habits and religion.... A very large proportion are of the poorer classes, and nearly all have young families, who will grow up beside our own children. At school, at church, in business, in the home, and in time at the ballot box, they will jostle each other and help to make or mar the national character which we are trying to develop.... Can we estimate the result, when the influence of this vast and ever increasing throng come into our social, religious, and political counsels, unless they are properly directed.[71]

The middle-class, anglo-saxon, protestant country of the WCTU women was jeopardized by these foreigners with their different languages, customs, clothes, and values. Many issues of the White Ribbon Tidings had columns devoted to individual foreign groups, from the Ukrainians, Galicians and Ruthenians to the Germans, Poles and the Italians. The columns explored the problems with the French, the Oriental community and the native Indians.[72] The Mormon population came under extreme attack, particularly for their treatment of women.[73] These columns from the Canadianization Department acknowledge a clearly racist position. One, entitled "Canada Meets the Human Wave from Europe" asked, "how shall Canada get the kind of settlers it really does want? Settlers of wealth-producing rather than the parasitic class.... The countries which give Canada the most worry are Poland, Russia and Rumania."[74]

With an overall Dominion policy to guide them, the Alberta WCTU confronted at first hand with the problem, had no difficulty giving Work Among Foreigners top priority. The Work had two goals: One was to Canadianize these people, to train them in the proper Canadian values of temperance, hard work, and loyalty; and the other to get them to sign petitions and vote for prohibition. The work of accomplishing these goals took a number of directions. One tactic was to place in a "foreign community" a temperance worker of the same nationality as the community. Mr. Krett, "a Ruthenian gentleman of considerable ability," was one such worker.[75] Nick Lopushinsky, who spoke in both English and Ruthenian, was another.[76] The salary and expenses of these workers were paid by the District WCTU's.

Another method of working with foreigners was through a community centre. By way of classes in English, medal contests or the recitation of temperance selections, and "improving entertainment," the WCTU philosophy on temperance was disseminated. In 1918 a Mary Howard, using a $300 addition to the teacher's shack as a gathering place for the young people, organized a local club for study and recreation.[77] Another such worker, a Miss MacPherson, worked in the vicinity of Soda Lake, and even managed to gain the cooperation of the public school teachers.[78]

Night classes, to teach English to the non-Canadian, was also considered a fine method of reaching these people. With co-operation from local school boards and teachers, who were willing to supply a classroom and/or a teacher either free of charge or for a small fee, the WCTU was able to accomplish its twin goals of Canadianizing the immigrant and teaching temperance principles. It was to be expected that a WCTU sponsored English class would use WCTU approved materials. Wetaskiwin, Edmonton and Youngstown were examples of Unions that adopted this method.[79]

Since the language in foreign settlements was not English the WCTU tackled the problem of how to reach this audience in their own language. In 1909 they discovered that there was absolutely no temperance literature published in the Ruthenian language in either Canada or the United States. They made the decision to have pamphlets printed in various languages, urging that instead of straight translations the authors try to ascertain "what phase of the question would appeal to the Galician mind...." The Reverend J.S. Woodsworth of All Peoples Mission, Winnipeg, was responsible for one of the leaflets.[80] These leaflets were distributed by various unions, via ministers of the foreign community, through missionaries working with these people, and by mail.[81] In 1915, for exmaple, the Olds Union distributed foreign language leaflets as follows: 25 Polish, 80 Norwegian, 100 German, 100 Russian, and 80 French.[82]

In 1928 the Canadianization Superintendent summarized the goals:

> ... It means making British subjects out of 257,000 people speaking 70 languages in Alberta.... To implant respect for law, the spirit of fair play, religious tolerance, our work of honor, temperance, the social health, a stable Government etc. in peoples of diverse origins and ideas takes time, and education, and patient training....[83]

But the ladies themselves did not get personally involved in this work. Unlike other departments where they petitioned, marched, cajoled, educated and ran various reading and coffee rooms, manned fair booths and performed charitable works the foreign work was done by others.

The WCTU contribution was in organizing and financing this work. The middle-class, anglo-saxon women were probably turned off by conditions in foreign communities. As one member put it "the work may not be pleasant all the time."[84]

Scientific Temperance Instruction

The fourth major area of concentration in Alberta was in the realm of education, particularly public school education. Through the Department of Scientific Temperance Instruction the WCTU hoped to reach all the children of the province with their temperance measures. They believed that proper education given at a young age could offset a bad home influence, change the wayward parents and teach the youngsters to avoid short term pleasures of drink for better longer term prospects of a decent, honorable life. Various methods of getting STI courses into the schools were attempted. In Alberta the Superintendent of STI began by petitioning for a curriculum change in the schools, then had personal interviews with the Premier and Minister of Education. Copies of approved textbooks and courses of study were sent to education officials.[85] In the meanwhile the WCTU enlisted other groups to help in this campaign. Dr. Tory, president of the University of Alberta, the Alberta Council of Education, the Temperance and Moral Reform League of Alberta and the United Farm Women of Alberta were some of the agencies appealed to for support. The women also spoke at teachers' association conventions and appeared before curriculum review committees.[86]

Besides becoming involved in curriculum change activities the STI Department ran essay contests, approached teachers and school boards at the local level, distributed STI literature, and donated books to local school libraries on the subjects of alcohol and tobacco. As educational techniques developed the WCTU kept up. McKinney noted, "The printed page and the spoken word still have their power, but it is my firm conviction that for both children and adults we must come to depend more on the picture method." Two illustrated sets of slides were purchased.[87] The teacher banquet idea, to help motivate local teachers, the publication of prize essays to motivate students, poster contests and temperance scrapbook contests were other ways of "teaching" temperance. Their campaign had mixed results. After twenty years of trying, STI was made compulsory in the educational system with a text-book and an examination. Despite this, however, it did not receive the same attention and prominence in the school as did the three r's. The results of essay and poster contests and other "local" work is also hard to judge. But given the WCTU belief in the need to educate the young the STI work remained central. Mrs. McKinney remarked that the WCTU carried on "a campaign of education - steady and persistent, undismayed in the face of difficulties that seemed insurmountable."[88] This stress on education, particularly within the public school, was not as evident in all jurisdictions, e.g. Saskatchewan, where other areas of work were prominent.

Other Areas - A Comparison

There were many other departments and areas of work, of course, but these four appeared to be the most active and were representative of the kinds of activities the Albertan WCTU thought important. Because of the grass roots nature of the organization not all local unions were engaged in these departments, just as from province to province different aspects of WCTU work were stressed. The Department of Flowers, Fruits and Delicacies is a good example. In the Reports of the Dominion convention it is the largest departmental report, all provincial unions indicating work in this field. With the motto "bear ye one another's burdens" it was considered a necessary department of every live union, connecting the union with the outside world and bringing it in contact with the ignorant and the learned.[89] In Alberta it was a fairly active unit at the local level but the provincial executive did not stress this work. Flower, Fruit and Delicacy work was more the traditional charity work that women's groups had long been associated with, and to many women, who were not really reform minded, but wished to be associated with this strong women's organization, here was a department that allowed them their traditional female role within a strong, non-sectarian organization. On the other hand the determined leaders, although they understood that the department did necessary spade work, were not that involved with it themselves. To them the fight was a political, legislative and educational one and a militant approach was necessary.

Another example of differences in departmental work was the Loyal Temperance Legion (LTL) and its heavy emphasis in Saskatchewan. The LTL was the youth department which took children about the age of seven, and through meetings, games, activities of various kinds, introduced them to temperance principles and temperance practices. This work was the focus of much energy in Saskatchewan where LTL locals were numerous. Alberta stressed instead the STI department, perhaps to the detriment of LTL work. This differing emphasis was noticeable even before they became separate unions, and therefore tells us something about the "grass roots" interest rather than the provincial emphasis. The first two presidents and the first STI and LTL superintendents were Alberta residents. However, Louise McKinney, the STI leader in 1905 and the president from 1908 on, was fully committed to STI from her days in North Dakota. Perhaps her residence in Alberta and her STI interest directed the Alberta unions to this end. Saskatchewan, with less militant leaders emphasized LTL work which would be classified in the more traditional realm of women's work.[90]

In this same vein the Alberta WCTU was the first and strongest organization agitating for the suffrage. In Saskatchewan the WCTU did not become active in this area until Mrs. Violet McNaughton, of the Women Grain Growers' organization, attended a WCTU convention in 1914 and inspired the assembled women.[91] Saskatoon founded a home for unmarried mothers which eventually became Bethany Hospital.[92] Annual Convention Reports for Saskatchewan stressed Flowers, Fruit and Delicacy; Red Cross, patriotic, and charitable activities; and informal youth work. Marcia McGovern characterized WCTU activity in Saskatchewan as espousing an essentially missionizing and conservative approach.[93] Perhaps the separation into two unions in 1912 was caused by this difference in philosophy as well as the size and distance. The Alberta Union seemed to take more seriously the "agitate, legislate, educate" slogan.

WATCHWORDS

Agitate

The watchwords of the WCTU were "agitate, legislate, and educate." Members agitated by petitioning, placarding and parading. By continually holding meetings, speaking to various groups, writing letters to government and prominent officials, and encouraging the press to report their activities they kept their ideas before the public. By becoming involved in prison work and assisting hospitals, establishing Travellers Aid stations, erecting public drinking fountains, and countering the saloon with rest rooms, reading rooms and coffee houses they put their words into action. By taking an interest in public affairs, particularly those involving women and children, staying constantly on top of scientific developments, using every circumstance that presented itself to make a pitch for their beliefs, and appealing to, or working with, or helping out all groups in the province, the temperance principles they espoused were kept up-to-date and spread widely. The WCTU in Alberta ran departments of prison reform, lumber camps, mines, and travellers aid; railroad work, exhibitions, fairs, and press work helped reach a wide audience; the evangelistic work, the Systematic Giving Department, and Lord's Day Observance were the Christian departments of the organization. Agitation, or keeping their ideas before the public, took many forms, involved a variety of departments, and exhibited a broad scale of interests.

Legislate

Legislation, changing the laws to comply with their beliefs, was an important goal of the WCTU. Their avowed purpose from the beginning had been the complete extinction of the liquor traffic. But they also had other legislative changes in mind. The provincial union itself endorsed many of these, some were advocated by individual members, others by a particular local. Interest in Women's Dower was begun by Henrietta Edwards as Franchise superintendent. Emily Murphy became involved when the Rutherford government had the bill in presentation stage, making suggestions for changes. It was passed in 1911 providing that a wife must get a third of her husband's estate.[94] Age of Consent was another law they wanted changed and the Department of Morals and Social Purity acted on behalf of laws which discriminated against women.[95] Other bills which the WCTU campaigned for included a Juvenile Delinquents Act, a minimum wage and a mother's allowance.[96] Louise McKinney, as an MLA, spoke out for a number of these measures during her short term in office. She was particularly eloquent when "urging greater expenditures on mothers' allowances" and in advocating "institutions for the feeble-minded."[97] Many unions wanted a curfew bell and were responsible for getting municipal legislation in this area.[98] With much of this legislative work they received support from others - from provincial and municipal welfare agencies, from police forces, from other women's groups and from prominent individuals.

Educate

Education, although the watchword left to the last, was also perhaps the most important. To the WCTU education was the backbone of the movement. If temperance sentiment was to increase, if prohibition legislation was to be enacted, if this legislation was to be successfully enforced, if the coming generation was to grow up pure and uncontaminated by the society's past, then education had to be given precedence. Besides the Department of Scientific Temperance Instruction there were a number of other departments devoted to educating. The WCTU believed that children, adults, and their own members could all benefit from this kind ~~of~~ an emphasis. So Sunday School, LTL, "Y" WCTU, and Little White Ribboners (LWR) concentrated on the youth. From enrolling babies as LWR members, promising to keep them free from alcohol, to organizing the young child in LTL groups and then graduating to a "Y" the child was attended to from birth to adulthood. Sunday schools were important and the WCTU advocated a Sunday a month as temperance Sunday. However, more than one member complained that teaching temperance in Sunday School was "preaching to the converted."

For the education of adults the Canadianization department was important, as was Press Work. A Literature (English and Foreign) Department was active in the early years translating and producing written materials for use throughout the province. A medical temperance department kept people aware of medical and scientific findings regarding the use of alcohol and tobacco and a Literature Depository kept pamphlets, leaflets, blotters, texts and plays available for educational purposes. The WCTU, particularly Mrs. McKinney, felt that keeping up with world events, knowing what was happening elsewhere, having numbers and statistics at one's fingertips, and being able to argue knowledgeably about temperance and prohibition were necessary for success. Therefore, members needed to subscribe to The White Ribbon Tidings, the national WCTU monthly; they had an obligation to know the material on hand in the literature depository; and they benefitted from participation in local, regional and provincial conventions. Education in the WCTU was "not only to save the lives of the children..., but to train those lives to high ideals of usefulness and service." In other words, education would not only produce a temperate generation it would also provide a vast army of recruits to lead the work of the next generation. Education was a vital component of WCTU work in Alberta.[99]

As late as 1930, with a declining reform movement generally, and a declining WCTU membership in particular, education was still considered the panacea. The WCTU began a new educational thrust in the hope of again producing enough temperance sentiment to affect a second Prohibition period. That the first Prohibition decade and the educational work promoting it had not produced their societal vision seemed to have escaped the ladies. They were convinced that with a good educational program social change would occur and their long dream of a temperate, moral, boozeless society would come true. The next chapter discusses the educational campaign of the first two decades and its influence on the public school.

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER 4

[1] R. McLean, "A Most Effective Remedy - Temperance and Prohibition in Alberta, 1875-1915," M.A. thesis, University of Calgary, 1969, p. 44; and Report of the First Annual Convention of the Northwest Territories Woman's Christian Temperance Union, 1904, p. 15 (hereafter NWT WCTU AR, 1904, p. 15).

[2] NWT WCTU AR, 1904, p. 22.

[3] W.L. Morton, The Progressive Party in Canada. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1950, pp. 27-28.

[4] L.G. Thomas, The Liberal Party in Alberta: A History of Politics in the Province of Alberta, 1905-1921. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959, p. 157.

[5] Morton, The Progressive Party, pp. 27-28.

[6] NWT WCTU AR, 1904, Cover.

[7] IBID, p. 5.

[8] IBID, p. 24.

[9] IBID, pp. 27-29.

[10] Report of the Biennial Convention of the Dominion Woman's Christian Temperance Union, 1891, p. 6 (hereafter Dominion WCTU AR, 1891); and John Kobler, Ardent Spirits: The Rise and Fall of Prohibition. New York: G.P. Putman's Sons, 1973, p. 142.

[11] NWT WCTU AR, 1904, p. 6. The Report of Committee on Plan of Work, p. 27, lists fourteen departments, omitting the "Y"WCTU. Presumably this is a clerical error as there is a superintendent, Mrs. Geo Powell, of Grenfell, named to head this department.

[12] A perusal of the Annual Reports for the years 1905 through 1913 shows the name change, the separation, the resolutions and the plans of work.

[13] In 1906, 43,251 of 185,412 Alberta residents had been born in the United States. The figures for Saskatchewan are 35,464 of 257,763 residents from the United States. Census of Manitoba, Alberta, Saskatchewan, 1906, p. XIV. In 1911, 21.7% of Albertans and 14.1% of those living in Saskatchewan had been born in the U.S. Census of the Prairie Provinces, 1916, p. XXX.

[14] Marcia McGovern, "The Woman's Christian Temperance Union Movement in Saskatchewan, 1886-1930: A Regional Perspective of the International White Ribbon Movement," M.A. thesis, University of Regina, 1977, p. 115, and Wendy Mitchinson, "Aspects of Reform: Four Women's Organizations in Nineteenth Century Canada," Ph.D. thesis, University of Toronto, 1977, pp. 183-184.

[15] *Report of the Annual Convention of the Alberta-Saskatchewan Woman's Christian Temperance Union*, 1908 (hereafter Alta.-Sask. WCTU *AR*, 1908).

[16] Biographical material on Mrs. McKinney was taken from these sources: J. Willard McKinney, *Louise C. McKinney*. London: Dominion Literature Depository, n.d., WCTU files, A/S; Hilda Ridley, *Pen Portraits of Progressive Women*, n.d., (clipping), Lillian Bertha Craigie Papers, F9, Glenbow; *Interview* with D.H. Galbraith by Una McLean Evans, 1962, Glenbow tape; Louise McKinney Papers, Glenbow; and Louise McKinney Papers, Provincial Archives of Alberta (hereafter PAA).

[17] Dr. Hugh Dobson's *Address* at the Memorial Service for Mrs. L.C. McKinney, Edmonton, Sept. 6, 1931. Louise McKinney files, #1, Glenbow.

[18] The Persons Case was resolved in October, 1929, when the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council brought down the judgment that women were, indeed, persons, and therefore eligible to sit on the Canadian senate. Although the petition went through in the name of Henrietta Muir Edwards, and others, the real instigator was Judge Emily Murphy. Although she did most of the work the five lady petitioners were listed in alphabetical order. Henrietta Muir Edwards, Nellie McClung, Louise McKinney, Emily Murphy and Irene Parlby. For more information on the Persons Case see Catherine Cleverdon, *The Woman Suffrage Movement in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1950.

[19] Alta.-Sask. WCTU *AR*, 1907, p. 23. See also *Edmonton Daily Bulletin*, Oct. 8, 1907.

[20] Alta.-Sask. WCTU *AR*, 1909, pp. 48-49. See also Ramsay Cook and Wendy Mitchinson, *The Proper Sphere: Woman's Place in Canadian Society*. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1976, pp. 265-266.

[21] Catherine Cleverdon, *The Woman Suffrage Movement in Canada*, p. 146.

[22] See Gwen Matheson and V.E. Lang, "Nellie McClung: Not a Nice Woman," in Gwen Matheson (ed.), *Women in the Canadian Mosaic*. Toronto: Peter Martin Associates, 1976, pp. 1-20; Catherine Cleverdon, *The Woman Suffrage Movement in Canada*; *Interview* with Frank Anderson by Gerry Puchett, CFAC-TV, Feb. 1972, Glenbow Tape; *Weekend Magazine*, Dec. 15, 1973, B5, F82, WCTU(E) files, Glenbow.

[23] See Byrne Hope Sanders, *Emily Murphy: Crusader* ("Janey Canuck"). Toronto: The Macmillan Co., 1945; Catherine Cleverdon, *The Woman*

Suffrage Movement; Letters, Murphy to WCTU, Sept. 29, 1918 and Oct. 31, 1918, Emily Murphy Papers, B1, F22, City of Edmonton Archives; Letter, W.A. Lloyd Smith, Grace United Church, Brampton, Ontario to Premier Brownlee, Nov. 4, 1926, Premier Papers, F97, PAA.

[24] L.J. Wilson, "Educational Role of the United Farm Women of Alberta," in David C. Jones, Nancy M. Sheehan, Robert M. Stamp (eds.), Shaping the Schools of the Canadian West. Calgary: Detselig Enterprises Ltd., 1979, pp. 126-127. See also Barbara Villy Cormack, Perennials and Politics: The Life Story of Hon. Irene Parlby, LLD. Sherwood Park, Alberta: Professional Printing Ltd., n.d.

[25] United Farm Women of Alberta, 11th Annual Convention, 1925, B3, F44, United Farmers of Alberta papers, Glenbow. "Young People's Work" by Mrs. Clarke Fraser quoting Mrs. Parlby (hereafter UFWA 11 AR, 1925).

[26] See UFWA 15 AR, 1929; UFWA 14 AR, 1928; UFWA 11 AR, 1925; and UFWA 12 AR, 1926.

[27] UFWA 16 AR, 1930. "Social Welfare Report" by Mrs. S.J. Bentley.

[28] Marcia McGovern, "The Woman's Christian Temperance Union," p. 109. See also footnote 35 and Dominion WCTU AR, 1913, p. 56.

[29] Mrs. McKinney belonged to the Woman's Missionary Society (WMS), the Ladies Aid Society and a Literary Society, the Alberta Prohibition Society and the Moral and Evangelical Council of the United Church; Mrs. Murphy was a member of the National Council of Women, the Social Service Council of Canada, Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire, Canadian Social Hygiene Council; Mrs. McClung took an active part in Women's Press Club, the Political Equality League, the National Council of Women, General Council of the Methodist Church and the League of Peace; Mrs. Parlby started the Alix County Women's Club, supported the local theatre group, and was an active member of the Horticultural Society of Alix; she belonged to the National Council of Women, the Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire, and was a delegate to the League of Nations. Mrs. Edwards belonged to the National Council of Women and the Young Women's Christian Association; she edited the first woman's magazine in Canada and had a reputation as an artist.

[30] J. Willard McKinney, Louise C. McKinney.

[31] Gwen Matheson and V.E. Lang, "Nellie McClung: Not a Nice Woman," p. 4.

[32] Byrne Hope Sanders, Emily Murphy: Crusader, p. 18.

[33] L.J. Wilson, "Educational Role of the United Farm Women of Alberta," p. 127.

[34] Jean Bannerman, Leading Ladies: Canada. Belleville, Ontario: Mika Publishing Co., 1977, p. 220.

[35] Appendix I.

[36] J.F.C. Wright, *Saskatchewan: The History of a Province*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1955, p. 109; John Archer and A.M. Derby, *The Story of a Province*. Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1955, p. 123; James Grey, *Booze: The Impact of Whiskey on the Prairie West*. Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1972, p. 12.

[37] Meetings, whether provincial or local, opened with a prayer and a hymn and concluded with a reading from the Bible. The selections were those of the Protestant faiths.

[38] Alta.-Sask. WCTU *AR*, 1905, p. 29.

[39] IBID, p. 30.

[40] IBID, p. 28. The appointment of Rutherford to lead the Liberal party in Alberta was a compromise decision. He was the man least likely to upset things. It had nothing to do with his temperance leanings.

[41] Alta.-Sask. WCTU *AR*, 1906, p. 35.

[42] Alta.-Sask. WCTU *AR*, 1908, p. 29 and *AR*, 1909, pp. 22-23.

[43] Alta. WCTU *AR*, 1915, p. 29.

[44] Robert McLean, "A Most Effective Remedy," p. 44 and pp. 51-52.

[45] Alta. WCTU *AR*, 1929, p. 38.

[46] Alberta WCTU, *The Story of the Years*, 1913-1963, pp. 1-2.

[47] Dominion WCTU *AR*, 1918, p. 86. This report on Canadianizing the foreigner said: "The three western provinces have sent to the war over 110,000 men of whom 90 percent were between the age of 20 and 34, and were from English-speaking homes." Hugh Dobson said: "During 1916-17 as a war policy strict temperance legislation was passed in all the provinces, and the sale of alcoholic liquors, except for medical, and scientific purposes was prohibited, save in the Province of Quebec, where like legislation was delayed until 1919. The prohibition extended to the sale of beer and wine, except in Quebec. They had a majority of 129,679 for beer and wine, April 1919." Enactment was as follows:

Manitoba	June 1, 1916
Nova Scotia	June 30, 1916
Alberta	July 1, 1916
Ontario	Sept. 7, 1916
New Brunswick	May 1, 1917
Saskatchewan	July 1, 1917
British Columbia	July 1, 1917
Quebec	July 1, 1919

Dobson Papers, Box 2, VIA-VIII, United Church of Canada Archives (UCC).

[48] Alta. WCTU AR, 1915, pp. 30-31.

[49] Dobson papers, UCC archives, Box 2, VIA-VIII. Between 1921 and 1927 all provinces, except Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island, adopted government control.

[50] Alta. WCTU AR, 1918, p. 36.

[51] Alta. WCTU AR, 1919, p. 43.

[52] Alta. WCTU AR, 1916, p. 58.

[53] IBID, p. 49.

[54] Letters from Captain Bishop, Medical Officer, Medical Hospital, MD #13, Calgary to President, Hillhurst, WCTU, dated, Nov. 7, 1917 and Nov. 14, 1917. B1, F1, WCTU(E), Glenbow.

[55] Statistics on number of unions, active and honorary members are found in the Annual Reports for each year. It was 1928 before the numbers approached those of 1915, and they quickly decreased after that. The 1935 Report listed 566 active members.

[56] Wendy Mitchinson, "Aspects of Reform," p. 216.

[57] NWT WCTU AR, 1904, p. 6, and Dominion WCTU AR, 1905.

[58] "No allowance was made at all for a woman's property rights - because so many men in the Territories had married Indian squaws." Byrne Hope Sanders, Emily Murphy: Crusader, p. 120.

[59] Alta.-Sask. WCTU AR, 1906, p. 36 and AR, 1907, p. 23. According to the Resolutions Committee of 1908 what the women wanted in a Dower Act was "not merely that the wills of married men should be under restriction in favor of their wives, but also that married women have a legal right to some share of their husband's property while both are living." Alta.-Sask. WCTU AR, 1908, pp. 48-49.

[60] Alta. WCTU AR, 1915, p. 63. See also Catherine Cleverdon, The Woman Suffrage Movement, p. 69.

[61] Cleverdon, IBID, pp. 71-72. The suffrage bill and the prohibition bill proceeded together through the Spring, 1916 sitting of the house, and both took effect July 1, 1916.

[62] Alta. WCTU AR, 1915, p. 32.

[63] Alta. WCTU AR, 1916, p. 32.

[64] IBID, p. 35.

[65] Alta. WCTU AR, 1918, pp. 32-33.

[66] Mrs. Jamieson of the Local Council of Women of Calgary was named a judge also and Roberta Macadams, a nurse and the soldiers' representative also won election to the provincial house.

[67] Sketches by J. Kemmis, R.C. Brett Papers, File 28, Glenbow.

[68] Hilda Ridley, Pen Portraits of Progressive Women.

[69] Interview with D.H. Galbraith.

[70] Veronica Strong-Boag, "The Parliament of Women: The National Council of Women of Canada, 1893-1929," Ph.D. thesis, University of Toronto, 1975, p. 96.

[71] Dominion WCTU AR, 1905, p. 78.

[72] See The Canadian White Ribbon Tidings, 1920-1926.

[73] See for example, The Canadian White Ribbon Tidings, March 1922, p. 55, February 1923, p. 30 and June 1925, p. 127.

[74] The Canadian White Ribbon Tidings, November, 1922, p. 223.

[75] Alta. WCTU AR, 1923, p. 83.

[76] Alta. WCTU AR, 1927, p. 65.

[77] Alta. WCTU AR, 1918, p. 67.

[78] Dominion WCTU AR, 1922, p. 117.

[79] See Alta. WCTU AR, 1915, pp. 60-61; AR, 1916, p. 58; and AR, 1917, p. 59.

[80] Alta.-Sask. WCTU AR, 1910, p. 28.

[81] Alta.-Sask. WCTU AR, 1911, p. 46.

[82] Alta. WCTU AR, 1915, pp. 60-61.

[83] Alta. WCTU AR, 1928, pp. 67-68.

[84] Alta. WCTU AR, 1916, p. 58.

[85] See Alta.-Sask. WCTU AR, 1906; AR, 1908, p. 52; AR, 1909, p. 39; and Calgary Observer, May 1, 1905, Part I, No. 5. Published by Herald Co. Ltd. for WCTU of Calgary, p. 4. (This is believed to be the only publication attempted by a local union. Glenbow has this edition only.)

[86] Alta.-Sask. WCTU AR, 1908, p. 52; AR, 1909, p. 39; Edmonton Bulletin, April 27, 1916; Alta. WCTU AR, 1922, p. 29.

[87] Alta. WCTU AR, 1925, p. 26; and AR, 1926, p. 27.

[88] Alta. WCTU AR, 1915, p. 31.

[89] Dominion WCTU AR, 1905, p. 90ff.

[90] In 1912 the combined Alberta-Saskatchewan union listed 37 Loyal Temperance Legion (LTL) unions with 1,437 members. Although after the split Alberta did not show LTL figures for each year, the largest membership seems to have been 1928 with 404 LTL members. Conversely Alberta spent a lot more time on Scientific Temperance Instruction (STI) legislation, essay contests etc. Saskatchewan essay contest work was delayed until 1921, whereas Alberta was active from 1915 on.

[91] Catherine Cleverdon, The Woman Suffrage Movement, p. 79.

[92] Fern Barnes, A Centennial Mosaic, 1874-1974, p. 49. See also First Annual Convention of the Saskatchewan Woman's Christian Temperance Union, 1913, p. 41 (hereafter Sask. WCTU AR, 1913, p. 41). Record 158, 133, FIF; see also Sask. WCTU AR, 1914, p. 31; AR, 1919, p. 49 and AR 1921, p. 53, Record 3, B3, FIF for records of patients. For short history of Bethany Hospital see File 1.1-K(6), Box 5 WCTU papers, Archives of Saskatchewan, Regina (hereafter A/S(R)).

[93] Marcia McGovern, "The Woman's Christian Temperance Union," p. 153ff.

[94] Byrne Hope Sanders, Emily Murphy: Crusader, 123.

[95] Social Purity, White Shield, Mother's Meetings all devoted themselves to the sexual purity of the youth.

[96] Alta. WCTU AR, 1929, p. 37.

[97] Toronto Globe, July 11, 1931. See also Louise McKinney papers, F75.48, PAA.

[98] This was an early activity in the Northwest. Medicine Hat, for example, wanted a curfew bell as early as 1904. Medicine Hat WCTU minutes, B6, F91, WCTU(E), Glenbow. See also Alta.-Sask. WCTU AR, 1907, p. 24.

[99] Alta. WCTU AR, 1918, p. 32.

CHAPTER 5

THE WCTU AND THE PUBLIC EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

Education was important to the WCTU in Alberta, as elsewhere. To successfully legislate prohibition and to win and benefit from the extension of the franchise, education was needed: the average man in the street would become aware of the evils of alcohol; women would benefit from lessons on citizenship; and children would learn from an early age why prohibition was necessary. Following in the footsteps of their parent organizations in the National and Dominion WCTU, the Alberta and Saskatchewan Unions concentrated much effort in educational areas. McKinney summarized: "there was a need for a broad program of education, not only among the children but among our young people and adults as well, for unless the [liquor] custom is checked among men and women there is grave danger that much of our teaching among the children will be overcome by social usages when they go out into the world to mingle with the social life of the community."[1] In another address shortly after the franchise was granted to women, Mrs. McKinney stated that: "the moral forces of the province will look to us to educate the women and lead them out to higher ideals of citizenship." In the same paragraph she reiterated: "... never has the world needed the Woman's Christian Temperance Union as at the present time - with its high ideals for home and national life, its conception of the responsibilities of citizenship, its interest in every phase of the world's life and activity, its facilities for training the children, its purpose to educate the people, and its machinery for carrying this purpose into effect."[2] In many of her addresses McKinney emphasized the educational nature and resources of the WCTU. She did not, however, assess the effectiveness of the educational work, nor indicate why the campaign for a dry society was not a success. In 1927 in her address to the 5th Annual Convention of the Alberta Union she said: "We have carried on a broad program of education among our own people and have given our support to every movement that seemed to contribute to the uplift of the home life and child life of the nation."[3]

Specifically, the Department of Scientific Temperance Instruction worked to have temperance courses in the curriculum, to run essay contests that would coincide with the school program, and to encourage the members to become involved with the school at the local level. Although this was the main work with the schools, the ladies were involved also with peace, prayer, and thrift campaigns, convinced that programmes such as these would help create a climate in which temperance would grow.

SCIENTIFIC TEMPERANCE INSTRUCTION (STI)

When Mrs. McKinney was appointed STI Superintendent at the territorial convention in 1904, she had only just moved to the West from North Dakota. The successful campaign by Mrs. Hunt, the American STI leader, to get legislation in all states, and WCTU approved textbooks in hygiene and temperance into the hands of all teachers, guided McKinney in her first endeavors. It was her belief that if practical results were to be obtained from temperance agitation then the opportunity to reach the next generation was through the public schools. In her efforts to get the STI department operating she advocated this international threefold plan of work:

> 1. Provide suitable textbooks - books that are good authority on hygiene, containing also a sufficient amount of the latest scientific teaching as to the effect of alcohol and narcotics on the body, these books to be graded as are text books in other subjects;
> 2. Secure the passage of laws providing for the teaching of this subject on the same lines as other branches of study;
> 3. Enlist the sympathy of teachers and school boards and see that the provisions of the law are carried out.[4]

With Mary Hunt's campaign and this plan of work as guidelines, McKinney, first as superintendent of STI, and later as president, encouraged legislative changes, essay contests, and various activities at the local level to use the school to create a dry society.

STI - Legislation

The first step in creating an active STI department was to learn how the school system operated, and what could be done along legislative lines. In an interview with the MLA from Macleod it was learned that, unlike the American States, "no special Act of Parliament was needed to cover this question, that the Minister of Education had full control of all educational matters."[5] This centralized system, as McKinney was soon to learn, was difficult to change. Unlike the decentralized system of the various states, where local politicians could be pressured to vote for a legislative change regarding the schools, and where local trustees could decide on curriculum and textbook matters, the professionals in the Department of Education in Alberta were not easily swayed, and they made the decisions regarding the important aspects of education - curriculum, examinations, textbooks and teacher training and certification.[6]

The next step was to ascertain the nature of the program of studies regarding temperance. Although Alberta had temperance education courses, adopted from Territorial days,[7] McKinney believed that they needed to be upgraded. With only one reference book provided for the teachers, no textbook at all for the pupils, and no examination required in the course, she was concerned about the ineffectiveness of the program.[8] In 1906 the STI Superintendent wrote to the Department of Education in Edmonton, calling attention to the defects in the existing law and asking for a change. She also sent copies of the national and international courses of study, which had been approved by educators in the United States and Great Britain. These moves resulted in letters from the Department indicating that the suggestions would be considered when the next revision of the course of study occurred. McKinney mused: "What has really been accomplished by these efforts remains to be seen."[9]

The STI department, however, did not confine itself to the efforts of the superintendent. It was work which could be done in each community, so McKinney sent letters, report blanks, and plans of work to each local union, encouraging, questioning, and educating the ladies about local efforts.[10] Although this type of work was time-consuming it was also somewhat frustrating because actions were difficult to assess, and the results, if any, might not be evident for years.

The growth of interest in this department continued. The 1908 Convention noted that a group of Calgary ladies met with President Tory of the University of Alberta and were assured of his sympathy and cooperation. The superintendent had a session with Premier Rutherford, extracting from him a promise "that as soon as a suitable book should be produced he would see that it was introduced into our schools."[11] At the annual convention of the Temperance and Moral Reform League of Alberta, the WCTU asked that a committee of five be appointed to assist in securing these textbooks. With this help from the Temperance and Moral Reform League the question of suitable textbooks was twice brought to the attention of the Alberta Department of Education. Interviews were conducted with several members of the Alberta Council of Education on this subject. Three sets of books were sent to the Alberta Department.[12] The Deputy Minister of Education told a Strathcona WCTU delegation that as soon as he had time to examine the books carefully and decide which was best suited he would see that it was introduced into the schools for the use of the pupils.[13] Evidently the Deputy Minister either did not find the time or did not think the books suitable for the Report of the Resolutions Committee in 1910 stated: "Resolved, that we continue to ask the Department of Education ... to authorize, as soon as possible, a text book on the subject of physiology, hygiene and scientific temperance for the use of the pupils in the public schools; and, we would especially recommend the "Gulick" series, and that an examination test be given in this, as other branches of study."[14] The 1911, 1912 and 1913 Convention Minutes repeated the above resolutions.[15] It seems that despite sympathy, assurances, and promises from the Department of Education; despite letters, interviews, and initiatives in sending suitable texts for perusal; and despite co-operation from other individuals and groups, the pleas fell on deaf ears. The Department of Education made no move to upgrade its temperance and hygiene offerings.

A clue to the department's inaction can be found in the Hygiene-Physiology, Program of Studies for 1910 and the Hygiene section of the Course of Studies for Public Schools, 1911. "The great purpose," according to the programme of studies, "is to build up in the mind a theory of self-control and willingness to abstain from acts that may grow into dangerous habits."[16] The Course of Studies told the teacher that the program of Hygiene in the common schools should be viewed by the teacher as a matter of inducing good habits rather than as a work of instruction. This philosophy would "make a text book unnecessary for pupils' use."[17] Another hint was apparent in reading further in the Programme of Studies. It advocated that "the moral and social effects should be made prominent, and abstinence be inculcated from higher ends...." The teacher was warned to avoid persistent dwelling on details of disease, and to use "delicacy of treatment" in dealing with cases where the home and school did not concur on temperance principles. Warnings were given against teaching what is uncertain or doubted by authority and also against facts which were likely to be repudiated by the pupil when he became mature enough to judge for himself.[18] This material had not changed from territorial days. The Alberta Department of Education had not thought the program either inadequate enough to initiate change or important enough to give it priority. THE WCTU, however, viewed the subject not only as important, but also as inadequate. The 1911 Course of Studies first mention of alcohol was the grade VII level where "... the effect of alcohol and tobacco on general health, growth, physical and mental endurance, particularly of youth; the danger of forming the alcohol and tobacco habits" were to be studied.[19] The Department of Education and the WCTU did not agree on the course of study, the methodology, or the use of a textbook for the hygiene and temperance course.

Neither this lack of agreement, nor the lack of action, deterred the ladies, however. The Plan of Work Committee continued to urge that "the unions co-operate with the superintendent of Scientific Temperance Instruction in ... every possible way to secure the introduction of suitable graded text books, on the subject of Hygiene and Scientific Temperance, in our public schools, also an examination test on this subject."[20] The Edmonton Bulletin reported in April, 1916, that the Honorable Mr. Boyle, Minister of Education, had stated that as soon as the Union had selected a suitable book that it would be used for instruction throughout the province. The Union recommended the "Health Series," which would appear to be the Canadian Health Series by Ritchie and Caldwell.[21] The Nanton Union wrote to the School Inspector for their area about temperance teaching, and were assured that it "was on the curriculum." The Viking Union sent the following resolution to the district convention: "Convention resolved that the Superintendent of Education be asked to have a clause put in the school ordinance making an examination re temperance and hygiene compulsory from grades three to eight."[22] Despite these efforts nothing had happened since Halpenny and Ireland's How To Be Healthy had been approved in 1913 for grades V-VII. It was not one of the WCTU recommended texts, and although eventually used in many provinces, the WCTU Committee on textbooks found it the weakest of all temperance texts with regard to alcohol, and lacking completely in matters related to narcotics in general and tobacco in particular.[23] The 1920 Course of Studies for the Public Schools, Grades I-VIII, was still promoting the habit philosophy: "The aim of the teacher in this subject for the elementary grades should be to show the value and importance of the formation of good health habits early in life. With young children the formation of hygienic habits is of more importance than the giving of information on the subject...."[24]

Whether this continual agitation paved the way for the changes in the 1920's is unclear. But changes did begin to occur. In 1922, Mrs. McKinney appeared before the committee on school curriculum advocating scientific temperance in both public and high schools with an examination and a suitable text. She also corresponded with Mr. McNally, Committee Chairman and Supervisor of Schools for Alberta, who stated that books for supplementary reading and the recommendation would come before his committee.[25] Partial success was finally realized for the 1922 Resolutions included the following: "Resolved: That we appreciate the action of the Educational Department in placing hygiene and scientific temperance on a par with other examination subjects in the public school, and we would urge that these be added to the examination subjects in the high school."[26] What the Committee on Elementary Curriculum had recommended, which was adopted, was that the course in Elementary Science embrace Nature Study, Geography, and Physiology and Hygiene for the first six grades, and Geography, Physiology and Agriculture for Grades VII and VIII. It was expected that forty minutes per week would be devoted to Physiology and Hygiene. The

Course of Study for 1922 underlined the change in thinking since 1911 regarding the study of alcohol and narcotics: facts rather than habits were emphasized. It stressed that "not only is physical education necessary, but a definite understanding of elementary anatomy, simple laws of health, and first aid, as well." In succeeding grades each of the body's systems was to be studied with a view to understanding alcohol's effect upon each system.[27] For example, one of the topics for Grades I to IV was "Food (Manners while eating; dangers in smoking and in taking strong drink)." Grade 5 would study the digestive system and the harmful effects of alcohol on this system. In Grade 6 the harmful effects of alcoholic beverages and narcotics on the respiratory and circulatory systems would be learned, along with understanding the general organization of the main organs, and how they serve the body. By Grade 7 the child would know "the evil effects of spirituous liquors and of tobacco" on the excretary and the nervous systems. A review of these systems would take place in Grade VIII in preparation for a compulsory final exam.[28]

Another resolution in 1925 read: "That the Provincial WCTU wish to express their appreciation to the Department of Education for the introduction of the Text-Book, Physiology and Hygiene by Ritchie and Caldwell. In our opinion the importance of the teaching of Scientific Temperance in schools is so great we request that higher value be given to this subject in examination papers."[29] Ritchie and Caldwell's text not only explored the effect of alcohol and tobacco on the systems of the body but also devoted paragraphs to such topics as: "What employers think of the use of alcohol;" "Alcohol and the Great War;" "What medical men think of the use of alcohol;" "Tobacco and scholarship;"

and "The effect of a moderate use of tobacco." Not only had the WCTU achieved a place for hygiene in the regular time-table and a compulsory examination, but they also saw accepted a WCTU approved text. Success in this field at long last.[30]

The introduction of an improved course in alcohol related topics at a time when prohibition was viewed with increasing dismay and eventually replaced by a government control system needs some explanation. Although pressure over many years by the WCTU may itself have been enough to convince the government a change was needed, other organizations were also promoting temperance in the schools in the 1920's. A number of women's organizations either joined with the WCTU in promoting their resolutions or drew up platforms of their own to present to the government. Mrs. M. McIlroy, convenor of the Local Council of Women of Calgary, told the members: "... the great increase in drinking throughout Canada, and the all too prevalent use of narcotics, require our earnest efforts directed towards the education of our youth in the effects of these things on the human system, and our continued efforts towards stirring up our provincial government to provide the necessary instruction along these lines."[31] The Council presented a petition to the Cabinet asking among other things, that school text books contain more information regarding narcotics. The minister promised that this would be done when a new textbook on Hygiene was adopted.[32]

Another organization that became concerned about alcohol teaching in the schools was the Women's Institute. Three years after the first Institute was formed in Alberta, it was given official encouragement by the Alberta government to promote knowledge of household science with special attention to home sanitation, a better understanding of the economic and hygienic value of foods and fuel, and the scientific care of children.[33] Resolutions which called for abolishment of beer parlors and alcohol related courses for schools fitted the goals of these women.[34]

The United Farm Women of Alberta (UFWA) also took up the cause of temperance and hygiene in the schools. In 1925 they recommended "that in the Normal Schools of the Province more stress be laid on the necessity of teaching hygiene, and particularly the bad effects of drugs, alcohol and cigarettes on the human system."[35] Mrs. Ross, UFWA Education Convenor, reported in 1926 that their 1924 resolution "that a text book be prepared on the evils of alcohol and tobacco," had been acted upon, and "we now have a new text book on hygiene which treats this matter very thoroughly."[36] Their continued interest in this field was evident in a 1927 Health and Child Welfare report, which announced the appointment of Miss Chittick to the staff of the Calgary Normal School as an instructor in Health Education. Among the topics Miss Chittick would deal with was "the teaching of hygiene ... harmful effects of alcohol and tobacco on growth, on the skeleton, on the great working of the systems of the body."[37]

The Women's Missionary Societies (WMS) of the various churches, but particularly of the Methodist Church, were also interested in temperance. Although several presbyterials made the statement that in smaller towns many of the WMS members were also members of the local WCTU, therefore the need of emphasizing temperance in the WMS was not great, some did stress this work.[38] The Reverend Hugh Dobson suggested that the WMS ladies could and should promote temperance by: "Assisting WCTU and Parent Teachers' Associations; promoting temperance educational study; encouraging teaching in public schools; and urging the preparation of teachers for this work.[39]

Not only women pleaded the cause of temperance teaching. In a letter to Premier Greenfield, the Provincial Secretary of the United Farmers of Alberta (UFA), Mr. H. Higginbottom, said: "... we urge our Locals throughout the Province to use all their influence ... to carry on a campaign of education both among children and adults that will cultivate a sentiment in favor of total abstinence and prohibition."[40] In 1925 they passed a resolution, "be it resolved that the Minister of Education be urged to carry out a more vigorous program of teaching along these lines." It seems that the UFA was concerned about the evils associated with the lawful sale of alcohol, and believed that one of the most efficient methods of combatting these evils was in the education of the young children "to a knowledge of the effects of these agencies on the human system."[41] During this same meeting they reported on the new textbook, approved by the WCTU. They felt that given this approval all reasonable ground for complaint against the school program would have been removed.[42]

Besides these groups which did not have prohibition or temperance as their main goal, the Alberta Prohibition Association also promoted a thorough going campaign of education among children and adults. In 1925 they noted with appreciation that Hygiene and Temperance had been given a place on the curriculum of the public schools; urged the Department of Education to authorize as speedily as possible a textbook suitable for the pupils in the grades in which the subject was taught; and asked that the Department of Education incorporate this subject in the High School program with suitable textbooks. They also called on the people of the province to encourage teachers to present this subject matter in the best possible way.[43]

Perhaps the introduction of temperance courses with examinations and authorized textbooks in the 1920's was a reflection of the growing interest among groups in the society that the school had a role in alcohol education. The requests for these courses came from organizations and people with a variety of interests and goals, from groups whose aims were not prohibition centred. The fact that a number of these were rural based, e.g., the UFA, UFWA, and Women's Institutes, might also have helped convince a farmer based government of the need for these courses.

STI - Essay Contests

Another area of school activity was the essay contest. Although the members continued to pass resolutions asking for textbooks and examinations in the subject, and pressed their cause by letters and delegations to the Premier and Education Department officials, it was time to branch out. In 1915 the Scientific Temperance Department announced plans for Essay Contests in the schools. These contests would be a means of interesting students in the subject matter, of helping the teacher to fortify his/her presentation, of acquainting those who came in contact with the child of some of the facts concerning alcohol, and of encouraging those who showed no inclination in this subject to become involved.[44] Essay contests were encouraged as early as 1908 in the White Ribbon Tidings as a feature of fair work.[45] In a 1909 article "Why Hold a Prize Essay Contest?", eight reasons were given:

1. because the essay is an excellent means of proving how much the child has really comprehended the teaching.

2. the essay is a form of expression which calls for clear, concise statements.

3. the essay demands logical reasoning.

4. the essay contest awakens interest in STI, not only in the schoolroom, but in the homes of the community.

5. the essay leads to questioning and investigation outside of the schoolroom.

6. the committee selected for judges are obliged to carefully weigh the value of the statements of the pupils.

7. the teachers see that the subject, STI, is of more interest to the community than any other subject taught in the schools.

8. the essay is directly in the line of all thorough teachings where "Precept must be upon precept; line upon line; here a little and there a little," and is one of the forces which makes dominant the truth concerning alcohol, which alone can sweep from the face of the earth the legalized liquor traffic.[46]

To get this activity off to a good start in Alberta, the Scientific Temperance Department drew up a list of subjects for the various grades, a set of rules governing each contest, and a list of prizes. This material was sent to all the local unions, to the two provincial Normal Schools and to the University of Alberta. Suggested titles included:

> Total Abstinence, A Safeguard to Health and Character;
> Is the Use of Beer and Light Wines Conducive to a High Standard of Living;
> How the Cigarette Injures Health;
> Benefits of Total Prohibition.[47]

The grading of these papers included not only the subject matter, but also style, penmanship, language and grammar. Because students would need material on which to base their arguments, the department also recommended some books for school libraries. Included in this list were:

> Alcohol and the Human Body by Victor Horseley
> The Gulick Series
> A Compendium of Scientific Temperance Truth by Mrs. Edith Smith Davis

as well as the charts issued by the National WCTU.[48] According to the White Ribbon Tidings these charts were prepared by scientific experts as a result of scientific investigations. The first chart told of French and English families of moderate drinkers, in well-to-do circumstances, with thirty-three descendants. Of these, only three were normal; two were suicidal; three had already committed suicide; three were drunkards; four were prostitutes; and eighteen had tuberculosis. Another chart recorded that seventy-six families of moderate drinking habits produced 236 descendants. Fifty of these were normal, a somewhat better ratio than in the first chart. The rest included eight who were insane, twenty-one drunkards, eight idiots and 149 who had either organic diseases or neuroses. Twenty-four families of hard drinkers with 113 descendants were the subject matter of chart number three. These included sixteen drunkards, seven epileptics, eight dwarfs, seven idiots, and fifty-five with organic diseases. These hard drinkers produced only twenty normal offspring. The fourth chart talked about ten temperate families with sixty-one children, fifty of whom were normal, five who had died in infancy and six who had organic diseases.[49] The message was quite clear. Drunkards, epileptics, idiots and dwarfs, were the result of alcohol use. Suicidal tendencies, insanity and organic diseases including tuberculosis were more prevalent in offspring of drinking parents. Only temperate, meaning abstaining, families produced mostly normal children. Although the textbooks did not quote numbers as the charts did, the message was the same. Even the moderate use of alcohol caused slow development, ill-health, and death.

The essay contests became quickly one of the main features of the Department of Scientific Temperance in Alberta, operating at both the provincial and the local level. Essays were organized for university students, normal school attendants, teachers, UFWA members and fair goers. With a variety of topics gauged to the age and background of the contestants, the contests had the potential of widespread influence, as well as involving local WCTU members in work which was not of a traditional charitable nature, but also not of a radical nature.

The results of essay contest work are difficult to judge. First of all, the number of essays written is unclear. In the most successful year 2000 essays were handed into the provincial office. Yet we know that various locals ran their own contests and sent only the best forward. Some schools had every child do one essay and the teachers send in only the top two or three. Second, much of the literature available to the child stressed scare tactics. These tactics might "scare" the young child away from alcohol but would they have a lasting effect when he became an adult. For example, one of the texts used, and some of the essays written, quoted this passage:

> In Turkey the pipes of smokers were thrust through their noses; in Russia the noses of smokers were cut off, and those who repeated the offense were put to death; the church

> threatened the users of the weed with excommunication; and King James of England issued a protest against its use, in which he declared it to be "a custom loathsome to the eye, hateful to the nose, harmful to the brain, dangerous to the lungs, and in the black, stinking fume thereof nearest resembling the horrible Stygian smoke of the pit that is bottomless.[50]

Another scare tactic was to associate every conceivable disease with the use of alcohol. Hardening of the liver, kidney disease, heart disease, hardening of the arteries, apoplexy and paralysis, insanity, tuberculosis, pneumonia and other germ diseases were all said to be caused by alcohol.[51]

Third, the essays themselved indicated that in many cases the subject matter, evidence and presentation were beyond the grasp of the student. The material was often taken verbatim from the texts and the writer showed little evidence of understanding what he had written. Albert Cohen, who won the provincial contest in 1924, wrote about "hob-nailed liver disease," in which alcohol caused the liver to expand in some places, contract in others. He also spoke of "bleared eyes" disease in which alcohol caused the optic nerve to waste away destroying sight altogether. He concluded with the statement that alcohol took moisture from the brain and "this effect is liable to ruin the character completely."[52] Robert Scott, a grade ten student, wrote that tobacco caused the heart to become unsteady, sometimes beating very hard and fast, sometimes with a weak, fluttering beat. This he called "tobacco heart."[53] Other essays, by students aged twelve to fifteen, talked of "fatty degeneration and fibroid degeneration of certain of the tissues"; "derangement of the brain cells causing insanity"; "alcohol as a greater plague than war, famine and pestilence combined"; and "the cells become mere bags of oil, which cannot do their work."[54]

. A grade X prize winner from Lethbridge did her essay on the evil effects of cigarettes. She saw a progression of decay in the cigarette user, from ill health to immoral activity, when the lungs got too little air and the heart beat irregularly, "the boys' blood instead of being pure and bright red is a purple color ..."; then the tobacco made the stomach juices active and "the boy digesting badly begins to be half starved, pale and weak." Next to suffer was the user's intellect. According to Miss Hamilton, "the cigarette fiend now grows careless, dull, and irresponsible; he loses interest in his sports and studies; and he thinks more and more about his cigarettes. He has become a slave to them so that he often resorts to stealing to satisfy his craving."[55]

Nancy Parke, the STI Provincial Superintendent, summarized the work of her department:

> When this department was first launched as an essay working contest in Alberta in 1915, 300 essays were written ... A decade later, 1925, essays were written in 13 places and numbered 2000. This year essays have been written in 25 places. This is evidence of some progress, and every year shows more lucid understanding of the work among our women themselves and a higher grade of scientific knowledge among contestants....[56]

This progress probably had a lot to do with the new course of study instituted in 1922. Mrs. Parke stated that these essays and prizes "should act as an incentive to teachers, for the subjects chosen for the essays are in complete accord with ... what is outlined in the Alberta Course of Study for Elementary Schools." The Department of Education and the Alberta WCTU seemed to have come to a meeting of the minds regarding hygiene and temperance in the schools.[57] However, it is of interest that the majority of places that had successful essay contests were in constituencies that either voted dry in both the 1915 and 1923 plebiscites, or dry in 1915 and only a narrow margin for government control in 1923. (See Appendix 2, 3 and 5.) In other words, essays flourished in places where the dry sentiment was already evident. These contests did not make inroads into the "wet" regions of the province. It was certainly easier to preach to the converted but it may have created an illusion of progress among the members that in fact was not there at all.

STI - Local Efforts

It was the job of the individual unions to sell the Essay Contest and Scientific Temperance generally to the local schools. This they tried to do in several ways. A number of unions gave banquets or luncheons for as many of the local and surrounding teachers as could be arranged, with the Essay Contest as the main item on the agenda. Edmonton District Report for 1922 recorded that "the union entertained the teachers at luncheon and then explained the essay contest and distributed literature. A successful essay contest was held by the Union later."[58] Claresholm reported, "one Banquet for the school teachers of Claresholm, with the object in view of interesting them in Scientific Temperance, Essay, and Contest work. There were seventy-five present at the banquet and it proved a success in every way."[59] Sometimes the women would entertain the teachers without a formal agenda. For example, in 1907 the Medicine Hat WCTU served tea to about thirty teachers at the close of the teachers' convention. The women hoped that informal contact with the teachers would promote their ideas.[60] The Viking Union held a luncheon for the teachers at which they distributed temperance literature.[61]

Visits to local teachers by the superintendent and members of the Scientific Temperance Department were popular methods of influencing teachers. For example, Lamont local reported that they approached nine teachers with six responding. This resulted in ninety-three essays being written.[62] Lethbridge announced the essay contest and then visited the two public and high schools to urge the pupils to enter the competition.[63] In Hanna the local superintendent gave temperance talks to the pupils, and five of the teaching staff in the public schools were said to be members of the organization.[64] In Grande Prairie, the schoolboard chairman after a visit from a WCTU delegation said that he would "do his utmost to have hygiene taught in our schools this year, or have a doctor or nurse address children at least once a week on hygiene or scientific temperance, or anti-narcotics, ..."[65]

Donating books to the local school libraries was another way of interesting the schoolteachers in the essay contest and in Scientific Temperance Instruction generally. Okotoks Union purchased two books from the WCTU depository and placed them in the school library.[66] The Gulick Hygiene Series was donated to the school library in Youngstown where the teachers and superintendents highly recommended the volumes.[67] The Central Alberta District which comprised nineteen unions indicated that the Gulick Hygiene Series was placed "in a number of libraries and essay contests have been held and prizes awarded."[68]

This series of hygiene texts, promoted by the WCTU as an ideal supplement to the school programme and a help in the essay contest, used pictures, experiments, data and stories. In the first book of the series, Good Health, the experiments involved four dogs, two of whom were given a daily dose of alcohol. These two, named Bum and

Tipsy, were smaller and weaker in size and strength, produced only four surviving puppies compared with the forty-four produced by the alcohol-free dogs, and they also died much earlier than Nig and Topsy who had a healthy diet.[69] In Book Two: Emergencies, the reader is treated to a catalogue of injuries, accidents, and violent deaths caused by alcohol as well as more experiments - on chickens and frogs. As in Book One, the chickens, frogs' eggs, and tadpoles who were given a solution of water and two percent alcohol were "undersized and feeble" if they survived.[70] Complete with pictures these volumes taught that alcohol was a poison and that human beings who drank would be effected like the animals in the experiments.

Another but much less successful method of creating interest was the teacher essay. In 1917 a Teachers' Contest was announced early in the autumn. Notices were sent to many teachers and announcements made at Conventions. However, no response was received.[71] At the Executive Meeting held during the Annual Convention in 1922 it was moved "that a prize of $24.00 be offered for the best essay to any qualified teacher writing on the subject 'The best methods of teaching Scientific Temperance in the schools.'"[72] Unfortunately results were not recorded.

STI literature such as blotters, charts, and the Handbook, distributed to local schools, also helped spread the message. Calgary Unions placed 2000 blotters in the public schools.[73] In Wetaskiwin the local union distributed 1000 blotters among rural and city schools, along with other STI literature. Westcott divided 200 blotters among four schools.[74] The effect of this form of propaganda on the schoolchildren must be questioned. Here is a WCTU blotter motto:

Temperance means:

First - moderation in healthful indulgence
Second - abstinence from all things harmful, as the use of intoxicating wines.[75]

Note the vocabulary, style and message! The pamphlets and leaflets were many, going from "Why Alcohol Education"[76] and "Alcohol and Other Narcotics: Suggested Topics for School Courses of Study"[77] to "Girls Beware of the Winecup"[78] and "The Puny Youth."[79]

Other suggestions for STI development were made from time to time: a poster contest, with both prizes and the posters put on display in schools and other public places; a temperance scrapbook contest, where children would be encouraged to collect and display articles, pictures, slogans, etc. related to alcohol and tobacco; and the publication of prize essays in the local papers.[80]

This effort at the local level had both successes and failures. Lethbridge Central reported that their superintendents were having difficulty getting competitors for essay contests in the schools because the Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire essay was more popular.[81] Sometimes teachers objected that they were too busy, that the curriculum was already crowded with essential studies.[82] In other cases the school teachers were acknowledged "wets," and refused the appeals of the WCTU ladies.[83] Some foreign districts lacked yearly schools and often the sentiment in foreign districts was anti-prohibition. Language and cultural problems inhibited work in these districts.[84] Few unions were organized in these areas, and the results of the prohibition plebiscites confirmed this belief of the WCTU members that these districts were pro-alcohol. The 1915 plebiscite returns showed that the ethnic districts north and east of Edmonton, particularly Ukrainian and French districts, voted wet. Only three of the sixteen "wet" ridings in 1915 had WCTU locals operating.[85] In 1922 the STI superintendent complained that only about twenty percent of the unions had worked at Scientific Temperance.[86] If we ignore the cities of Edmonton, Lethbridge, Calgary and Medicine Hat there would be a fairly close correspondence between areas that voted to continue prohibition in 1923 and places that worked STI departments in 1922.[87] Since the vote came too soon for any school programs to have affected the voting, the relationship between the two probably tells us more about the long term, prevailing "dry" sentiment in these districts, than it does about the effectiveness of the education program.

STI - An Assessment

The Scientific Temperance and Anti-Narcotic Department of the WCTU believed that children should be taught "health facts in relation to total abstinence, moral truths in regard to anti-narcotics, economic proofs of prohibition," by having them built in, "item by item, little by little, brick by brick, into the structure of their education."[88] They argued that it is "possible to keep steadily increasing this work until education along rational lines, re scientific proof of the ailments, crime, and misery that are inseparable results of alcoholism clears the outlook of every child."[89]

The attempt to institute STI in the public schools was superficially successful. Despite some antagonism and considerable indifference the WCTU achieved partial success. However, it could be argued that an effective program in the schools, one on a par with other subjects, would have equal time in the timetable, would meet with praise or criticism from the inspectors, would have a prominent place in the examination schedule, and would be a part of the teacher training program at the Normal Schools. A survey of the literature and documents available revealed that this was not the case. A perusal through inspectors' reports find comments on just about every aspect of the school except temperance. It wasn't until 1927, five years after the 1922 curriculum change, that an instructor for health and hygiene was hired for the Normal School at Calgary. The first nurse and hygiene instructor for the Edmonton Normal School was on staff January 1, 1929. The examinations also revealed the lack of importance the authorities gave to this topic, showing few questions devoted to alcohol and tobacco, and in some years none at all. For example, in 1924, the exam in Agriculture, Physiology and Hygiene, and Art had no temperance questions. The next year's examination, which awarded 40 marks for agricultural questions, 40 for art, and only 20 for physiology and hygiene, had a two-part question on alcohol worth four percent.[90] So although the department confirmed and the WCTU accepted that Health and Hygiene was on a par with other subjects, it certainly did not receive the same attention in the schools as the three r's. The WCTU authorized text book, Physiology and Hygiene by Ritchie and Caldwell, was adopted but a later, and more up to date text, McCorkindale's Study Book and Charts was not.[91] The plea for a high school programme fell on deaf ears. This partial success had taken twenty years of petitions, letters, and interviews.

Success in the essay contest area and efforts at the local school level were even more questionable. Although the essay appeared to reinforce the curriculum guide, the numbers, the nature of the texts and the methodology employed caused questions to be asked. At the same time it should be remembered that many people besides the school child had contact with the subject matter because of an essay. "I've come to see the whole wet and dry question in a different light," said one parent, "and it was due to my son ... entering a temperance essay contest. The subject of prohibition has been discussed in our home morning and night.... As a result I have become convinced that the principle of prohibition is sound."[92]

Despite these efforts overall results were negative. In 1922 when Prohibition was still in effect, the women of the WCTU were urged by their leader:

> "... O women, write your autograph on this clause of Prohibition while you can, by providing your school children with the safeguarding knowledge of why and how alcohol and tobacco destroy health and character; teach the evidence of their effect on the heart, on the blood, on the brain, on the whole body; how they act destructively on the most vital organs and on the morals as well, how they tear cells and vigor, thought and aspirations, alike to atoms ...."[93]

In 1923 that autograph she had asked for was refused as prohibition was turned out by the voters. The statistics of the newly formed Alberta Liquor Control Board showed increased alcohol sales, expanded profits, and an additional number of permits issued in each year after government control was instituted until the depression deepened. If STI had been widespread and viable these figures would have leveled off as the STI educated youth made an impact on the marketplace.[94]

OTHER SCHOOL-RELATED ACTIVITIES

Scientific Temperance Instruction was certainly the strongest and most important work that the WCTU members did within the schools. However, that is not to say they were satisfied with all other aspects of the school curriculum, or did not have other school-related activities that they supported. There were a number of other areas of interest that the WCTU promoted for the schools. This was mostly on an ad hoc basis, done by individual unions, with no provincial or dominion department to organize the work. It was also work which was carried on spasmodically over the years with varying rates of success. Although these programs were not directly related to temperance they were of interest to woman-programs that the women believed would produce a moral society. Thrift, prayer, and peace in addition to prohibition would produce a morally prosperous society; would improve conditions for women and children in the home; and would help create a climate in which prohibition would be enforced.

Thrift Campaign

The thrift campaign in schools revolved around the adoption of the school savings bank idea, an idea popular in other areas. An article in the Calgary Eye Opener in 1902 praised the "mental and moral education which results from this early habituation to the principle of living within one's income."[95] Thrift seemed to imply prudence, steadiness, self-reliance and good habits, all of which go to making good citizens. It would easily fall into the moral ideas of WCTU women who believed that a lesson was best taught by practise, not precept, and that this savings bank if extended to all schools, would have a notable and wholesome effect upon the nation in a generation - and a wholesome nation would not be so easily in the clutches of "King Alcohol."[96] The WCTU in Wetaskiwin was one of the early unions interested in thrift among children. In 1904 the Union took over the introduction and operation of the school savings bank in the local school.[97] A few other unions, helped by the Local Council of Women and Women's Institutes, interested the teachers in the Savings Banks, and the thrift campaign grew.[98]

It was after the outbreak of the War, however, that the real impetus for a thrift campaign began. The School Savings Banks took second place to the War Savings Campaign and plans were worked out for the establishment of Thrift Clubs in the schools. These would be of both national and individual benefit. As Premier Martin of Saskatchewan made clear if Canada was to be self-supporting financially, then national thrift was necessary. As Minister of Education he thought that "the practical inculcation of thrift at an early age cannot fail to have a most important effect, not only upon the individual but upon the nation; and I am confidently relying ... upon the teachers and trustees throughout the province ... giving their loyal support to the Movement."[99] So the WCTU children who had learned thrift at an early age would not squander their money or talents on a wasteful, harmful product such as alcohol. Penny savings banks, the War savings campaign and thrift clubs generally aided and abetted the general campaign for prohibition.

Bible Reading - Lord's Prayer

The Woman's Christian Temperance Union took the "Christian" designation in their name as seriously as the "Temperance" part. It was their belief that they were doing God's work and that it was necessary to keep Him before them at all times for inspiration, for courage, and for guidance. They believed that they "must lend Christ a hand to destroy all the works of the devil - war, racial and class antagonisms, social injustices and inequalities, civic corruption, poverty, ignorance, infidelity and all the rest - and upon a foundation swept clean of such rubbish to build up a great kingdom of righteousness, peace and joy."[10] As individual members of Christian churches, and with general support from these churches for their work, they ran their meetings, conferences and activities in a spirit of prayer. Opening meetings with a prayer, singing a hymn, invoking a benediction and reading of psalms were all integral parts of WCTU get-togethers. They had one department in particular which tried to carry on this idea of prayer and to extend it to others: the Evangelistic Department. Prayer meetings, days of prayer, devotional meetings were some of the attempts at Christian evangelism that the members engaged in.[101]

It should not be surprising to find these women taking a vital interest in prayers in the public school, since to them it was so central. In 1911 at the Dominion Convention in Sherbrooke, Quebec, the state of Bible reading and religion in the schools was of vital concern. They argued that this question touched the very heart of the life of the nation; that to neglect the reading of the Bible was a step backwards; that there were very pressing moral problems in education; and that the reading of the Bible in schools, the repetition of the

Lord's Prayer, and the singing of sacred songs was desperately needed. They wanted these points of view sent to all Ministers of Education in Canada.[102]

The Alberta women responded to this resolution by passing both provincial resolutions and taking local steps to advocate Bible reading in the province's schools. They resolved, at the 1923 annual convention, to "urge upon the Legislature that a law be exacted whereby all public schools be opened by reading without comment a portion of Scripture and repeating the Lord's Prayer."[103] In 1927 the Innisfail Union sent a resolution to the local School Board asking to have the Lord's Prayer recited in all grades and to have Bible reading without comment.[104] The Lavoy Union, instead of trying to have the Lord's Prayer and Bible Reading included asked the local ministers to give a half hour religious instruction in the public schools once a week.[105] In Calgary's East End the WCTU reported that one of the ministers used the half hour for religious instruction allowed under school law to give lectures on temperance, successfully combining the "Christian" and "Temperance" elements of the WCTU.[106]

Perhaps the most heartfelt reaction to these petitions for prayers and Bible reading came from the Calgary School Board which provided for the reading of the Bible in all schools and purchased 350 Bibles to make this viable.[107] This action by the Calgary Board spurred the ladies on to confer with local school boards in their respective communities to have daily reading of the Scriptures in the schools. Other groups also saw the need for this "Christian" atmosphere and urged the same message on school boards. At the 13th Annual Social Service Convention held in 1919 the businessmen of

Calgary expressed dismay at "the degeneracy exhibited by schoolchildren." They were concerned about "thieving carried on in various stores by children from 8 to 15 years of age." The solution, according to a number of people at the convention, was "that the ministers of the city be asked to visit the various schools and inaugurate a campaign of moral teaching.[108] The Local Council of Women sent a petition to the Cabinet, stating: "That in the opening exercises of the Public and High Schools it should be made compulsory as part of these exercises to make a public recognition of God."[109] The Social Service Council sent a list of requests to the Provincial Government in 1922, one of which asked that the systematic study of the Bible be made part of the school curriculum.[110] The United Farm Women of Alberta were also interested in the moral and religious training of the young at school. In 1926 the Inter-Provincial Council of Farm Women took as a topic for thought and discussion: "The Ethical and Spiritual Training of the Young." Susan Margaret Gunn in a presidential address indicated that the driving force of educational work was the development of moral fitness.[111] Irene Parlby was quoted: "We have to develop in them [youth] a higher sense of the moral obligations of citizenship." By means of resolutions, addresses, articles and appeals to the UFA organization the educational concerns of the UFWA became widespread.[112] Although these other groups may not have viewed "Christian" with the same emphasis as the WCTU, they did all agree on the need for moral emphasis and a Christian atmosphere in the training of the young.

The outcome of these requests to the government and to local School Boards was not all that successful. The School Ordinance allowed for Bible Reading and the Lord's Prayer as opening exercises, but they did not make them compulsory. School law since 1892 had allowed one half hour of religious instruction at the end of the school day, but only at the request of either the residents or the School Boards.[113] The initiative had to come from the local area. Reaction was mixed. Some places, like Calgary, facilitated Bible Reading by purchasing bibles, others left it to individual teachers. In some rural areas no minister was available to give religious instruction, in others the population was so mixed agreement was impossible. In the long run this request by the WCTU for Bible Reading and the recitation of the Lord's Prayer probably had little effect. The interest, stamina, and genuine concern of the ladies was in temperance education first, and the energy devoted to improved moral instruction suffered as a result.

Peace and Arbitration

Although the Peace and Arbitration department was active at the Dominion level in the early 1900's, it did not become a viable concern with a superintendent in Alberta until the late 1920's. The Peace Department was, as the name implies, for world peace, and disarmament. The way to prevent war was to prepare against it, not for it, which the WCTU thought seemed to be the philosophy most countries had adopted.[114] Well trained armies, vehicles and equipment were available and in many places school cadet corps were formed which prepared young boys in military drill and rifle training. In Canada Lord Strathcona provided funds to assist with military training in the schools. The trust supplied instructors to train school teachers in the fundamentals of teaching drill and rifle handling. Introduced in 1907 there was an immediate increase in the number of cadet corps in the schools of the country.[115]

The Peace and Arbitration Department had two goals: to promote peace and prosperity through character building and the prohibition of the liquor traffic; to downplay war and militarism by eliminating military drill in the public schools and substituting physical culture. In 1907 the dominion department summarized its philosophy: "The agencies most accessible to us for good work are the home, the school and the church . . . The school that takes pride in its cadet corps is very apt to mistake uniforms and rifle practise for character building." Indicating that Colonel G.M. Onslow of London, England, and Dr. Dudley Sargeant, Director of Hemenway Gymnasium, Harvard University, corroborated in these ideas, the report went on to point out that a common fallacy equated military drill as physical culture and that it made boys manly. On the contrary, according to these experts, "military drill fails to add health or grace or manliness in the same degree that a good system of physical culture would do."[116]

In 1909 the national WCTU resolved that "as an organization of Christian women, we place ourselves on record as distinctly opposed to the instruction of the boys of this Dominion in military tactics and to the organization of rifle cadet corps in connection with the public schools." Not only did military drill foster a warlike spirit, but it also fostered a spirit that was in direct opposition to the "spirit of teaching of Christ and His Apostles."[117] The WCTU was stressing the Christian emphasis found in its name and aims. The Dominion organization had clearly supplied the leadership in this area, however the WCTU in Alberta did not become involved until after the war was over, Mrs. McKinney had attended a number of World WCTU conventions where "Peace" was prominent, and other organizations in Alberta began to agitate against military drill in the schools.[118]

Individual unions on their own, and the provincial convention representing all the unions, sent resolutions to the government requesting the elimination of military training in the schools. In June, 1922, the Hanna District WCTU sent a letter to Premier Greenfield, enclosing copies of the resolutions passed by that district. One of the resolutions read: "Resolved, that we protest against military training at any age and request that this resolution be sent to our Minister of Education."[119] The provincial body, first in 1921 protested against compulsory military training,[120] then in 1925 asked that the Officer Training Corps in the schools run by churches be discontinued, because "training of young men for war is contrary to the Spirit of Christ"; and urged the provincial government to discontinue cadet training in the public schools and substitute in its place a course in physical training.[121] In 1926 they repeated and referred back to the government the above resolution from 1925. Since these actions did not seem to produce results the resolution from the provincial convention in 1927 went a step further. It asked "that our WCTU women exercise the right that is ours by refusing our sons to be enrolled for cadet training."[122]

The suggestions to the government and to School Boards from the WCTU were not only negative. Besides suggesting a physical training course in place of military drill, the unions also made other suggestions for "peace" education. They particularly promoted international "goodwill day," suggested by the World Federation of Education Congress.

In Edmonton the Central Union suggested a peace programme for goodwill day and the idea was accepted by the Board.[123] In Nanton, 300 "peace" blotters were distributed to the school children, while both Wetaskiwin and Innisfail supplied the public and high schools with literature, posters, and blotters for goodwill day. The Consort Union prepared and assisted in putting on "a fine Good Will Day in the school, when the Hon. George Johnston spoke on the League of Nations."[124]

As early as 1921 the Curriculum Committee of the Alberta Teachers' Alliance (ATA) promoted physical training as distinct from military training, which the Committee unanimously opposed. In an article in the ATA Magazine the Committee commented: ". . . Physical training is the only subject made compulsory for every high school pupil, - physical training as distinct from military training, - and will be understood to include physical exercise, physiology, hygiene, etc." Not only did the ATA committee dislike military training, they also wanted physical education, including hygiene, offered in its place. The WCTU had support for hygiene, as well as for their peace interests, from some teachers at least.[125]

The UFWA was also interested in education for peace, and they believed that the schools had a definite responsibility for peace. In an address to the 1928 UFWA convention, the education convenors spoke of the World's Federation of Education Associations' meeting in Toronto which had promoted the ideal of a warless world, to be attained through a new viewpoint in teaching. It had advocated "that histories of the future must stress the great advantage of peace over war; and that school children must be given an understanding of the advantages of arbitration over military conflict."[126] With these ideas as a guide the 1920 UFWA Resolutions included three that were directly concerned with education and peace: "Resolved, that we ... request the Minister of Education, that copies of the World Peace Pact be procured and a copy placed in all schools in Alberta;

Resolved, that we request that the Minister of Education authorize that Normal School instruction be given to all prospective teachers regarding the League of Nations and all means toward peace;

Resolved, that we ... urge all Education Departments in Canada to put into practice the resolutions passed by the World Federation of Education Associations in Geneva in 1929, asking for abolition of military training in civil educational institutions and substituting ... a system of physical education that will help build character and trained intelligence."[127]

The UFWA also wanted the federal government to eliminate the grant for cadets from the estimates of the Department of Defense. They figured that this would save the people of Canada half a million dollars. In 1912, for example, there were 20,000 cadets being trained at a federal expenditure of $35,000. By 1914 the number of cadets had increased to 47,000 and the federal cost to $392,000. This progression continued steadily until the figures for 1927-28 showed a cadet population in training of 130,000 and an estimated federal expenditure of $500,000. To put these figures in perspective, Great Britain, including Northern Ireland, was training only 34,156 cadets in 1925-26, a figure about equal to the number of cadets in Ontario alone. Clearly the UFWA thought that the schools were in the business of teaching for war, not for peace.[128]

This continual pressure from international and national bodies to eliminate military training in the schools eventually had some success. In June of 1932 the Public School Boards in both Calgary and Edmonton abolished cadet training from the public and high schools, in both cases by very close votes. The Edmonton Journal's comment on the decision was to give both sides of the argument: "Trustees favoring elimination declared that it was the city's small part in general peace movements, and others responded with claims that cadet training savored of militarism were "poppycock"."[129] Both the Albertan and the Calgary Herald produced editorials, one praising with the other lamenting the decision. The tone of the editorial in the Calgary Herald probably indicated the seriousness of the disagreement. The Herald viewed the cadet corps as an "excellent system of instilling in lads a sense of discipline" and the decision to remove it "will be received with regret by many fathers and mothers in the city." It argued that it did not promote militarism, and that it did enhance physical fitness.[130] The Albertan on the other hand saw it as a step toward universal disarmament and a way of improving the physical education curriculum. The editor observed that "we were forced long since to the conclusion that cadet training in Calgary schools was productive of nothing (neither for better nor worse); if the cadets gained anything either in physique or morals, it was not noticeable."[131]

Since Calgary and Edmonton had the largest number of cadets, the campaign to eliminate military training in the schools did have positive results. The role of the WCTU in this campaign was not that of trail blazers, nor of leadership. The Albertan organization came into the field in the twenties after other groups had become involved and the appeal for peace had an international focus. Unlike their campaigns for temperance, thrift and prayer in the schools, in which they wanted to introduce or improve the school program, the peace program was essentially one of eliminating an already established course of study. There does seem to be a parallel with temperance however. By eliminating alcohol from the society the WCTU thought it could solve all the social problems that had developed in the province. By eliminating military preparedness (at least in schools) and concentrating on preparing for peace the WCTU thought it could eradicate war. Just as prohibition failed in 1923, so did the peace efforts - in 1939 with the outbreak of World War II.

FORMAL EDUCATIONAL INVOLVEMENT - AN ASSESSMENT

Clearly the most important aspect of the WCTU's educational program was the STI department and its fight to get alcohol-related education an important place in the school curriculum. Just as clearly they were the leaders in this campaign, although other groups supported similar causes. It also seems evident that this was the most successful of their school-related endeavors, even though it fell short of WCTU goals. Although the professionals agreed on the need for instruction in alcohol and tobacco use the WCTU had not convinced teachers and the Department of Education officials generally on either the methodology to employ or even if it was a school matter. The new 1922 program with approved text book and examination was short-lived. By 1935 the Programme of Studies for grade IX stated: "No programme in Health Education for adolescents can be complete without a treatment of the use of alcohol and tobacco.... Nevertheless, these topics do not easily lend themselves to school instruction.... It is the concensus of competent opinion that in teaching the hygiene of alcohol and tobacco, more is gained by the "method of indirection" than by a direct frontal attack on the subject."[132]

The other programs supported by the WCTU did not achieve legislative changes, as did the temperance program. Where thrift, prayer and peace education was successful was at the local level where the women, along with other concerned groups, were able to convince local School Boards to make a change. These successes were small, involved other groups more directly, and did not achieve the symbolic success of changing the laws. In the long term, of course, none of these programs was successful in altering the tide of change in society.

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER 5

[1] Report of the Annual Convention of the Alberta Woman's Christian Temperance Union, 1927, pp. 29-30, Box 6, File 36, WCTU(B) papers, Glenbow (hereafter Alta. WCTU AR, 1927, pp. 29-30).

[2] Alta. WCTU AR, 1915, pp. 32-33.

[3] Alta. WCTU AR, 1927, p. 29.

[4] Calgary Observer, May 1, 1905, Part 1, No. 5. Published by Herald Co. Ltd. for WCTU of Calgary, p. 4. (This is believed to be the only publication attempted by a local union. The Glenbow has this one edition only.)

[5] Report of the Annual Convention of the Alberta-Saskatchewan Woman's Christian Temperance Union, 1906, p. 43 (hereafter Alta.-Sask. WCTU, AR, 1906, p. 43).

[6] Alberta's highly centralized system of education was patterned on Ontario. In contrast the United States schools put a lot more power in the hands of trustees, the central state officers setting down very minimal requirements.

[7] D.J. Goggin, the first superintendent of education in the Territories, was born, educated, and taught school in Ontario. In setting up a curriculum he leaned heavily on practise in Ontario which offered temperance courses.

[8] Calgary Observer May 1, 1905, p. 4.

[9] Alta.-Sask. WCTU AR, 1906.

[10] Alta.-Sask. WCTU AR, 1906 and AR, 1907.

[11] Alta.-Sask. WCTU AR, 1908, p. 52.

[12] Alta.-Sask. WCTU AR, 1909, p. 39.

[13] Minute Book, 1909 of the Strathcona Union of the Alberta and Saskatchewan Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Box 1, File 1, WCTU(B) papers, Glenbow.

[14] Alta.-Sask. WCTU AR, 1910, pp. 49-50. The Gulick Hygiene Series was a five book series: Book I - Good Health; Book II - Emergencies; Book III - Town and City; Book IV - The Body at Work; Book V - Contract of Body and Mind.

[15] Alta.-Sask. WCTU AR, 1911, p. 63; Alta.-Sask. WCTU AR, 1912, pp. 69-70; Alta. WCTU AR, 1913, p. 71.

[16] Alberta, Programme of Studies, 1910, Standards I-V, Elementary. mimeographed copy. Department of Education Archives, No. 1-A, and Alberta, Department of Education, Course of Studies for the Public Schools. Edmonton: Government Printer, 1911.

[17] Alberta. Course of Studies for the Public Schools, 1911. Hygiene section.

[18] Alberta. Programme of Studies, 1910, pp. 17-18.

[19] Alberta. Course of Studies, 1911. Hygiene section.

[20] Alta. WCTU AR, 1916, p. 64; see also Alta. WCTU AR, 1914; Alta. WCTU AR, 1913, p. 71; and Alta. WCTU AR, 1920, pp. 66-67.

[21] Edmonton Bulletin, April 27, 1916.

[22] Nanton District Minutes, WCTU, Jan. 8, 1920 and Alta. WCTU AR, 1920, pp. 66-67.

[23] Norine Pothinghorne, Authorized Textbooks Used in Alberta Schools, 1905-1965. A Research Project. Department of Education Library, Edmonton. Pothinghorne listed Halpenny and Ireland, How To Be Healthy, Educational Book Co. as a text used in 1912, approved in 1913 for grades V-VII. For a WCTU assessment of this text see letter from Elizabeth Knox Powell, STI superintendent in Saskatchewan to Premier Martin, June 26, 1919. Martin Papers I. 68,23019, Archives of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon (hereafter A/S(S)).

[24] Province of Alberta, Department of Education, Course of Studies for the Public Schools, Grades I-VIII, 1920. Edmonton: King's Printer, 1920, p. 109ff.

[25] Alta. WCTU AR, 1922, p. 29.

[26] IBID, p. 119.

[27] Arithmetic, Elementary Science, Industrial Arts and Writing. Part II of the Course of Studies for the Elementary Schools of Alberta. Grades I to VIII inclusive. Edmonton: King's Printer, 1922, pp. 26-55.

[28] IBID, pp. 37, 50, 55, 63, and 67.

[29] Alta. WCTU AR, 1925, p. 79.

[30] John W. Ritchie and Joseph S. Caldwell, Physiology and Hygiene for Public Schools. Toronto: The Educational Book Co.Ltd., 1922, pp. 170-187.

[31] Hillhurst WCTU Minutes, 1931, B2, F29, WCTU(E). Mrs. M. McElroy

was a convenor for the Local Council of Women, as well as the Loyal Temperance Legion superintendent for the Hillhurst WCTU in Calgary.

[32] Local Council of Women, Calgary, Yearbook Souvenir, 1933, p. 20ff, B2, F29, WCTU(E) papers.

[33] Clipping entitled: "Women's Institutes Have Long Record of Service in Alberta: Sponsored by Government, W.I. Is Now Independent Service Organization." n.d. in Lillian Bertha Craigie Papers, F9, Glenbow.

[34] Clipping entitled: "Women's Institutes to Deal with Weighty Problems," n.d. circa May, 1930, in Mrs. Harriet Nye files, Glenbow.

[35] Reports and Addresses Delivered to the Eleventh Annual Convention of the United Farm Women of Alberta, 1925, p. 31, Box 3, File 44, United Farmers of Alberta Papers, Glenbow (hereafter UFWA 11 AR, 1925, p. 31).

[36] UFWA 12 AR, 1926, p. 17.

[37] UFWA 13 AR, 1927, p. 25.

[38] Annual Reports, The Woman's Missionary Society, 1928-29, p. 136. United Church Archives, Toronto (hereafter WMS AR, 1928-29).

[39] Address, "For the Promotion of Temperance" by Hugh Dobson in WMS AR, 1928-29.

[40] Letter to Premier Greenfield from Mr. H. Higginbotham, Provincial Secretary of the United Farmers of Alberta (UFA), March 28, 1923. Premiers' Papers, 69.289, F168.A. PAA.

[41] United Farmers of Alberta. Resolutions, Jan. 1925, typewritten, n.d. Premiers' Papers, 69.289, F168.B.

[42] IBID. These resolutions were adopted Jan. 20-23, 1925.

[43] Alberta Prohibition Association Convention Report Bulletin, 1925, CB. A333C, Glenbow.

[44] Alta. WCTU AR, 1915, pp. 59-60.

[45] White Ribbon Tidings, Feb. 15, 1908.

[46] White Ribbon Tidings, March 1909, p. 1362.

[47] Pamphlet, Subjects and Rules for Prize Essay Contests of the Department of Scientific Temperance Instruction, Box 6, File 35, WCTU(B), Glenbow.

[48] Alta. WCTU AR, 1915.

[49] *White Ribbon Tidings*, Nov. 1, 1909.

[50] Ritchie and Caldwell, *Physiology and Hygiene*, p. 171 and Jessie M. Hamilton, "Is the Cigarette Habit Compatible with the Highest Moral and Intellectual Development," first prize essay, Provincial WCTU contest, 1919, Alberta in *Canadian White Ribbon Tidings*, Jan. 1920, p. 8.

[51] See Ritchie and Caldwell, *Physiology and Hygiene*; Cyril G. Eastwood, *A Handbook of Hygiene for Students and Teachers*. London: Edward Arnold and Co., n.d.; J. Halpenny and Lillian B. Ireland, *How To Be Healthy*. Toronto: W.J. Gage and Co. Ltd., n.d.

[52] *White Ribbon Tidings*, Feb. 1924, p. 38, essay by Albert Cohen.

[53] *White Ribbon Tidings*, Dec. 1929, p. 252, essay by Robert Scott.

[54] *White Ribbon Tidings*, Feb. 1929, p. 45; essay by James R. Simmonds; Jan. 1920, p. 8, essay by Jessie Hamilton; March 1924, p. 65, essay by Florence Arnold; and Feb. 1929, p. 45, essay by Nora Newman.

[55] *White Ribbon Tidings*, Feb. 1920, p. 32.

[56] Alta. WCTU *AR*, 1927, p. 60.

[57] *White Ribbon Tidings*, Oct. 1923, p. 186.

[58] Alta. WCTU *AR*, 1922, p. 83.

[59] IBID, pp. 69-76.

[60] Medicine Hat WCTU Minutes, 1904-1909, May 13, 1907 and June 3, 1907, Box 6, File 91, WCTU(E) papers, Glenbow.

[61] Alta. WCTU *AR*, 1922, p. 64.

[62] Alta. WCTU *AR*, 1923, p. 68.

[63] Alta. WCTU *AR*, 1918, p. 47.

[64] Alta. WCTU *AR*, 1920, pp. 57-59.

[65] Alta. WCTU *AR*, 1921, p. 44.

[66] Alta. WCTU *AR*, 1922, pp. 69-76.

[67] Alta. WCTU *AR*, 1920, pp. 38-40.

[68] Alta. WCTU *AR*, 1917, p. 44.

[69] Charlotte Vetter Gulick, *Book One: Good Health*. Gulick Hygiene Series, Boston: Ginn and Co., n.d., pp. 87-88.

[70] Charlotte Vetter Gulick, *Book Two: Emergencies*. Gulick Hygiene Series, Boston: Ginn and Co., n.d., pp. 95-100.

[71] Alta. WCTU AR, 1917, p. 44.

[72] Alta. WCTU AR, 1922, p. 35.

[73] Alta. WCTU AR, 1921, p. 42.

[74] IBID, pp. 68-70.

[75] Blotters, B7, F43, WCTU(B).

[76] Pamphlets, B6, F44, WCTU(B).

[77] Pamphlets and Leaflets, B1, F17, WCTU(E).

[78] Advice to Women Leaflets, B2, F21, WCTU(E).

[79] Leaflets, B1, F18, WCTU(E).

[80] Alta. WCTU AR, 1924, pp. 46-47 and AR, 1922, p. 49.

[81] Alta. WCTU AR, 1922, p. 83.

[82] Alta. WCTU AR, 1921, p. 53.

[83] Alta. WCTU AR, 1920, p. 53.

[84] Alta. WCTU AR, 1922, p. 96 and AR, 1920, p. 77.

[85] Lethbridge, Edson and Rocky Mountain had a WCTU organization in them. St. Alberta, St. Paul, Grouard and Beaver River were French ridings; Victoria and Whitford were Ukrainian. See Appendix 2.

[86] Alta. WCTU AR, 1922, p. 84.

[87] See Appendix 5.

[88] Alta. WCTU AR, 1923, p. 79.

[89] Alta. WCTU AR, 1927, pp. 80-81.

[90] See Annual Reports of the Department of Education for the 1920's for "Inspectors' Reports" and "Reports of the Normal Schools." Examination papers are available in the Legislative Library in Edmonton. See Sessional Papers, Legislative Assembly of Alberta, Vol. XIX, Part 2, 1924, and Vol. XX, Part 1, 1925. The two part question was: Write an account of the effects of drinking alcoholic liquors under the following headings:

a. the effect on the heart and blood vessels
b. the effect on the brain.

[91] In 1926 the Canadian Temperance Federation made arrangements with Miss Isobel McCorkindale, of Australia, for her to remain for awhile in Canada and during her visit to re-write her book used in the

schools of Queensland. It was printed by Ryerson Press in two editions: one for Sunday school, and one for public school. The Alberta School Book Branch ordered fifty copies in 1927. Minutes of the sub-executive, Prohibition Federation of Canada, Feb. 22, 1927 and Jan. 11, 1928. IC CTF, BI, FI, 1920-28. UCC.

[92] Canadian White Ribbon Tidings, Jan. 1925, p. 20.

[93] Alta. WCTU AR, 1922, p. 86.

[94] Annual Reports of the Alberta Liquor Control Board, 1925-1930.

Sales in Gallons

1925 - 3,735,700
1926 - 4,128,800
1927 - 4,937,600*
1928 - 4,821,900
1929 - 4,678,850
1930 - 3,855,100

Permits Issued	Net Profit
1925 - 117,128	1,522,155
1926 - 152,009	1,803,552
1927 - 183,550*	2,038,662*
1928 - 247,112	2,661,048
1929 - 259,393	2,410,886
1930 - 220,270	1,738,954

Convictions for Drunkeness

1925 - 1912
1926 - 1371
1927 - 1552*
1928 - 1552
1929 - 1273
1930 - 948

*The figures for 1927 are for fifteen months, as the Board changed its accounting from the calendar year to the March 31 fiscal year.

[95] Calgary Eye Opener, Saturday, July 11, 1902.

[96] A thrifty person would not "waste" money on alcohol. This idea was prevalent in WCTU addresses.

[97] Report of the Annual Convention of the Northwest Territories Woman's Christian Temperance Union, 1904, p. 17, Box 6, File 33, WCTU(B) papers, Glenbow (hereafter NWT WCTU AR, 1904, p. 17).

[98] Alta.-Sask. WCTU AR, 1905, p. 36.

[99] Speech by Mr. Martin, n.d., no title. Martin Papers I.39,15184 A/S(S).

[100] Alta. WCTU AR, 1916, p. 51.

[101] IBID, p. 50 and Annie L. Gaetz, History of Red Deer Woman's Christian Temperance Union, 1895-1949, p. 12 (mimeographed) Glenbow.

[102] Report of the Biennial Convention of the Dominion Woman's Christian Temperance Union, 1911, p. 83 (hereafter Dominion WCTU AR, 1911, p. 83).

[103] Alta. WCTU AR, 1923, p. 98.

[104] Alta. WCTU AR, 1927, p. 53.

[105] IBID, p. 49.

[106] IBID, p. 50.

[107] Alta. WCTU AR, 1928, p. 87.

[108] Minutes, 13th Annual Social Service Convention, Feb. 1919 and newspaper clippings in minutes, B2, F7.

[109] Local Council of Women, 1933 Minutes, p. 20ff., B2, F29.

[110] Memo to Government from Social Service Council of Alberta, Nov. 29, 1922. Premier Brownlee Papers, Acc. 69,289, F72, PAA.

[111] UFWA 12 AR, 1926, p. 5.

[112] UFWA 11 AR, 1925.

[113] See The School Act - 1931 (Chapter 32 of the Statutes of Alberta, 1931) Religious Instruction, 147. (1) and (2), p. 43.

[114] Dominion WCTU AR, 1907, p. 84 and AR, 1916, pp. 48-49.

[115] Lord Strathcona left a sum of half a million dollars, the interest of which was to be used for the encouragement of physical training, part of which was to be military drill and rifle shooting. All of the provinces in Canada entered into an agreement with the Central Council of the Strathcona Trust, Alberta doing so in 1911. See Alberta Department of Education AR, 1911, p. 46. See also letter from the Honourable Mr. Latta, Minister of Education in Saskatchewan to Smith Eddy, Esquire, Dec. 28, 1921 on the Strathcona Trust, Latta Papers 9, A/S(S).

[116] Dominion WCTU AR, 1907, p. 84.

[117] Dominion WCTU AR, 1909, p. 85.

[118] Mrs. McKinney noted that the World's WCTU Convention at Edinburgh in 1925 adopted a program of activities for 1925 through 1928. One of these was "To work for the establishment of World Peace." See Alta. WCTU AR, 1925, p. 30.

[119] Letter from Mrs. C. Aggett, corresponding secretary of Hanna District WCTU to Premier Greenfield, June 1922. Premier's Papers, Acc. 69,289, F72.

[120] Alberta WCTU, The Story of the Years, 1913-1963, 1921 section.

[121] Alta. WCTU AR, 1925, p. 79.

[122] Alta. WCTU AR, 1927, p. 85. See also The Story of the Years.

[123] Alta. WCTU AR, 1929, p. 62.

[124] IBID, pp. 64, 66, and 67.

[125] Alberta Teachers' Association Magazine, December 1921, p. 23.

[126] UFWA 14 AR, 1928, p. 17.

[127] UFWA 16 AR, 1930, p. 52.

[128] IBID, p. 22.

[129] Edmonton Journal, June 25, 1932.

[130] Calgary Herald, June 16, 1932, "Cadet Training Is Abolished."

[131] The Albertan, June 16, 1932, "Calgary and Cadets."

[132] Programme of Studies for the Intermediate School, Grades VII, VIII and IX, 1935. Edmonton: King's Printer, 1935, p. 85.

CHAPTER 6

THE WCTU AND EDUCATION OUTSIDE THE SCHOOL

The WCTU, convinced that education was the answer, ran a number of educational programs outside the public school - programs for all ages, all classes, and all nationalities. They had a large informal educational program to help fill in the gaps in the public school course of study in temperance, and to reach those outside the purview of the school. Only by looking at this aspect of the WCTU can we understand both their total educational effort, and the faith that they put in the process of education.

Their informal program had more than one phase. They believed that "the real friends of Prohibition are those who are informed and have some intelligent conception of the real nature and effects of alcohol."[1] In other words, the education of the committed, of their own members, had to be continued, upgraded, and kept up to date. Another phase was the program geared to the adult, to the general public, to be continually informed, prodded, and told the truth about alcohol. A third phase was that directed toward youth, of particular concern to the ladies if Prohibition were to be maintained in the next generation. The work with children and young people was necessary foundation and detail work. McKinney told the 1920 convention that this work "is the hope, not only of our organization, but of the future of the whole Temperance movement, and to neglect this now is to jeopardize the very cause for which we are giving our lives."[2]

The ladies of the WCTU tried many informal approaches to reach both the children and the adults of the community with their message, and this educational work outside the school took many forms. Visits to Indian reserves and work among foreigners were prime examples. Because it was important to get the young committed there was a number of departments devoted to youth. The Loyal Temperance Legion, Sunday School Work, Little White Ribboners, and WCTU "Y"s were specifically oriented to youth. Other departments, such as Purity and Mothers' Meetings, the Literature Depository Department, Travellers Aid, Mining and Lumber Camps and Railway Work were aimed at the adult population. A closer look at a representative group of these departments should document the informal educational aim of the WCTU and the role these activities played in the development of prohibition sentiment.

EDUCATION OF YOUTH

The WCTU claimed for years that a child had the "right to be well born, well clothed and fed, and well educated, and anything that hinders this is an enemy to the public good." Alcohol was certainly one such enemy. This attitude on the rights of the child was only half the story however. Saving the lives of children, though important, was not enough. Children also needed to be trained to high ideals of usefulness and service, particularly to "so educate and organize the boys and girls and young people so that a vast army of recruits may be in training to take up the work of the next generation, and not only hold the ground we have gained but press on to greater victories."[3] The youth groups of the WCTU were supposedly equipped for both these purposes.

Little White Ribboners (LWR)

The purpose of the LWR department was not only to obtain a pledge of abstinence for the little ones, but to train up a race who would not know the taste of alcohol. It was to bring before nursing mothers the fact that in taking alcoholic beverages themselves, they transmitted the alcohol into the child's system; to guard children until they were seven years of age; and to circulate literature dealing with scientific and medical temperance, health and hygiene among parents.[4] The LWR reports quoted numerous authorities on the evil effects of alcohol on babies and young children: "Liquor consumed by parents brings children into the world with enfeebled minds, tendency to idiocy, dullness and epilepsy, and with weakened bodies which early succumb to disease." (Report of a Chief Medical Officer to the Board of Education, England).

"Intemperance in husband or wife is a serious cause of excessive infant mortality." (Sir A. Newsholme).

"Five times as many alcoholized infants die as those of sober mothers." (Lt. Col. Sir A. Pearce-Gould, M.D., KCVO).

"Even small quantities of alcohol taken habitually injure the unborn child." (Sir A. Simpson, M.D., F.M.S.E.)[5]

The LWR Department operated by enrolling babies and children under seven years of age, for whom the mother made the following pledge: "I place my child's name among the "Little White Ribboners" promising not to give or allow him (or her) to take any Intoxicating Drink."[6] It distributed literature such as ""Wise Words" to Mothers and Fathers" in which the slogan "before birth it starves, after birth it stunts the child" was found.[7] It particularly hoped to break the custom of treating childish ailments with alcohol by influencing parents not to do it themselves, and not to allow a doctor to treat their child with alcohol medication.[8] Using figures supplied by the Massachusetts State Board of Health and the Colorado State Medical Society, Mrs. Craig, the first president, warned of the alcoholic content found in patent medicines: Brown's Iron Tonic, 19.7%; Paine's Celery Compound, 21%; Lydia Pinkham's Vegetable Compound, 16.8%; Warner's Safe Tonic Bitters, 35%; and Parker's Tonic, 41.6%. Paregoric, commonly used in babies with colic and teething problems, was said to contain two grammes of opium in each ounce.[9] Using adages, such as "an ounce of prevention is better than a pound of cure," and "as the twig is bent, the tree is inclined," the LWR believed that if they got the babies young enough, they would be able to train up a race that did not know the taste of alcohol.[10] As one lecturer expressed it: "The nearer a reform gets to the cradle the more effective it is."[11]

The Little White Ribboners' department, although it tried to interest parents in their babies, and held entertainments where the young children learned to sing temperance songs and received some treat, was not the healthiest of departments. Workers were hard to find, departments were abandoned particularly after the Prohibition vote[12] and "in the foreign sections in Canada [where] there are four babies born to every one of Anglo-Saxon parentage . . ." the department never got off the ground.[13] In most cases also, it was the problem of preaching to the converted. The membership lists of Little White Ribboners reveal that a majority of those enrolled were babies of the WCTU members themselves. Surely in these cases, the enrollment would be redundant. For example, the first Little White Ribboner was one of Nellie McClung's children.[14] The number of unions that had active LWR's was small, the names on the rolls were few, and the activities sponsored by the department were not well attended. It could be said that the success of the Little White Ribboners' department as a method of educating the population was minimal.

Loyal Temperance Legion (LTL)

On the surface the Loyal Temperance Legion should have been the most successful of the departments. "The children's welfare should be our first consideration," according to the 1918 Report, "the children of the home, the children of the community, the children of the nation - for the little ones of today are the men and women of the future."[15] The LTL was called "A Training School for Future Citizenship." It was argued that every boy had in him a little savage and a potential good citizen. He would rather be good than bad, all things being even. Give him the street and the gutter for his playgrounds, rob him of his play, and he joins the gang and learns the lessons that do not lead to respect for authority or property. "Education is the only perfectly effective weapon with which to fight alcoholism." Dr. Elkins, the

British psychologist, said that with the proper education ". . . we may have alcohol no longer affording the same temptation, not because you remove it from access, but because it ceases to act as a temptation."[16]

The LTL's had both plans of work drawn up for conduct of meetings, and a Lesson Manual with hints and helps. Each meeting would study some aspect of temperance truths, the harm of alcohol, or the evil effects of tobacco through a study book, an experiment, or a short talk. This was to be followed by an activity for the children, something to interest and hold them. Some suggestions were: "Make collections of scrap books which may be given to the Children's Homes or Hospitals. Lead a foot committee for crushing cigarette stubs. Have a membership contest for securing new members . . . . Spread Thanksgiving or Christmas cheer among the needy. Distribute literature for the mother WCTU. Act as ushers at public meetings of the Union. Train the boys and girls through songs, recitations, rally-cries, drills and playlets about the harm of alcohol and narcotics." Public Meetings, such as Medal Contests or Pageants were also suggested as a method of educating the public through the temperance recitations and songs of the Legioners. Many of the suggestions for activities involved work for other departments of the WCTU: distributing blotters for the STI; collecting donations of fruit and flowers for the Flower, Fruit and Delicacy mission; making scrapbooks for the Indian department; or securing members for the Little White Ribboners were some of the possibilities.[17] The WCTU felt that it was advantageous to the child life of the country to have children sign pledge cards, receive certificates, wear pins and get some instruction in temperance principles.[18] Various kinds of activities took place. One union taught scientific temperance by means of colored charts and debates. Another had the Tobacco Act printed upon large cards and displayed where tobacco was sold to minors. In some unions the LTL and the mother union worked together: the LTL might be entertained at an ice cream social or a picnic; in return the children sold tickets for medal contests or took part in the ladies' musical program.[19] Carlstadt, a CPR Station north-west of Medicine Hat, was pleased to report a course of study with chemical demonstrations; the completion of a banner; a double medal contest and a picnic. "Even mischievous Jimmy - the bad boy of the town - is wearing the LTL colors."[20] In Vermillion the LTL was organized and conducted by a school teacher who held two medal contests and gave much temperance instruction.[21] Lethbridge appeared very happy: "The leaven of Edmonton in the form of a consecrated young teacher is working out and Lethbridge is making definite plans for thoroughly organized work in the schools."[22] Red Deer had an LTL membership of 50 in 1911 under the capable hands of Mrs. I.M. King, a teacher in the public school, who held the meetings at the close of school hours in the school room. Since using the school room to hold the meetings, membership and attendance had increased, the denominational slant not a cause of concern in the school as it had been when the meetings were held in a church, or church hall.[23]

However, not all reports were as optimistic as these. In one instance everything was in readiness and had to be abandoned at the last minute because the promised use of the schoolhouse had been denied the group. More than one school district refused to cooperate with the WCTU by not allowing them use of the schoolhouse. In other districts unions indicated a willingness to do LTL work but hesitated because a mission band or some other juvenile society was organized and doing some temperance work. They felt to form an LTL would mean the depletion of one or the other.[24] Also mentioned as a reason for poor LTL work was the Red Cross and other patriotic activities which took so much time.[25] The influenza epidemic of 1918 interfered.[26] Greenshields reported a 'wet' teacher who refused LTL meetings with the children.[27] In Whitla, south-west of Medicine Hat, the problem was many Catholic children, some of whom drank beer. Parents seemed just not interested.[28] The LTL Report to the 1921 Annual Convention suggested the following as usual reasons for not working an LTL department: scarcity of leaders, children already over-taxed with schoolwork and other organizations, difficulty of gathering the children together, and lack of sympathy on the part of teachers and schoolboards.[29]

In 1912, the last year of the combined Alberta/Saskatchewan Union, there were 37 LTL unions in existence with a membership of 1,437. By 1917 only 10 unions in Alberta had LTL's. Besides the reasons listed above for not working this department, there is another which may be as important as the reasons given by the ladies themselves. Figures would seem to indicate that of the 37 LTL's in 1912 a good number were in Saskatchewan towns. It has already been shown that the orientation in Saskatchewan was less militant, more benevolent and geared more toward traditional women's activities. Emphasis on LTL would be in keeping with this tendency. Given the more radical bias in Alberta, the years leading up to the Prohibition vote and the Women's Suffrage amendment would have been ones of great activity in these areas. Getting the vote out, signing petitions, meeting with other concerned groups, making trips to the legislature, etc. would take precedence over children's activities. Although the numbers fluctuated over the years between 1919 and 1930, the average LTL membership was 234 - a very small number given the school age population in the province. The WCTU paid a great deal of lip service to the value of education outside the school, however, this rhetoric was not translated into LTL activity.[30]

Young Women's Christian Temperance Union (YWCTU)

The third youth branch of the organization, the "Y," was probably the least successful of the three. The arguments for establishing "Y" unions were: that the "Y's" were the future "W's" and must be prepared for the work or it will suffer[31]; that the young were lost in the old union and a "Y" gave them a chance to run meetings, and to learn organizational skills[32]; that they (the young temperance workers) could influence other young people as members of the older union could not[33]; and that a "Y" in existence in a town provided newcomers with the "right kind of friends."[34] According to testimony from a "Y" member, belonging meant receiving moral and temperance instruction and practical or executive training. It meant learning about the dangers and drastic results that alcohol and narcotics have on the body. It meant public speaking, making motions, and leading meetings. It meant meeting the right kind of young people. It meant "better friends, cleaner bodies and better thoughts and ideals."[35]

The meetings and activities of the "Y" were many, including devotional, educational and social programs. They contributed to patriotic service, helped with LTL groups, held debates, invited speakers and generally promoted the moral welfare of their members.[36] They became involved in Ruthenian and Indian work learning the value of charitable works as well as temperance ones.[37] The Claresholm "Y" conducted "A Trip Around the World" in which four homes were each "decorated to represent some country, while the costumes worn by the young ladies receiving and serving as well as the refreshments served and program rendered were in keeping with the general theme." About 175 people took advantage of the "trip" to learn about different countries and to hear some temperance material.[38] In 1923 the Provincial "Y" Department organized an educational program to help members understand the great work of the WCTU. The Course of Study consisted of three books, Alcohol in Experience and Experiment, Nicotine, and Studies in Government. Each of these was to be studied carefully, an examination written, and a diploma awarded.[39] These kinds of programs did not seem to attract members to existing "Y" groups or to help unions start "Y" programs. Of forty-nine unions organized in 1923 only six reported "Y" work, and even these six were not overly enthusiastic about the number of girls who regularly attended meetings, or the kinds of activities promoted. Complaints of too many organizations for the young adult, the fact that churches and Canadian Girls in Training groups did temperance work and the lack of good leadership were cited as reasons why "Y" work was neglected. The problem with other youth organizations which gave temperance lectures and passed temperance resolutions was somewhat the same problem that the LTL's ran into with mission bands and other juvenile societies. The formation of a "Y" might deplete both groups and yet these others did not do the practical temperance work the "Y" espoused: the pledge signing, training the temperance worker, holding meetings with a temperance theme, and sponsoring social gatherings in the interest of total abstinence.[40]

There seemed to be a pattern developing. The WCTU had as one of its watchwords "educate." In some years, education was stressed to the exclusion of the others as the focus for the year's work. Much of the literature spoke of the importance of education, particularly the education of the youth. And yet the three youth departments did not flourish. What had developed was a leadership which voiced the right sentiments, seemed to know what was needed, suggested good pedagogical methods on the one hand and on the other a membership which agreed with these sentiments, but had difficulty, for a variety of reasons, in making them work. There seemed to be a great divergence between theory and practise with regard to the Little White Ribboners, the Loyal Temperance Legion and the Young Women's Christian Temperance Union.

Sunday School (SS)

Sunday Schools were also seen as vehicles for advancing and strengthening temperance sentiment. From the earliest days Sunday Schools had been an impetus for temperance teaching. It was through a Sunday School in Ontario that Mrs. Youmans became interested in temperance, and it was a Sunday School meeting at Chautauqua, New York, that the initial plans for the WCTU were formalized. When Mrs. Craig made her tour of NWT centres in 1904 she addressed a number of Sunday School gatherings.[41] Here was a captive audience, whose parents thought enough of their beliefs to educate their children, in a church which for the most part espoused temperance principles. Annie Gray, the Dominion Superintendent, believed that "total abstinence from everything that will harm or defile the body is still a Bible doctrine and should be taught in the Church and Sunday School whenever possible."[42] However, some questioned this philosophy. "Why talk temperance in our Sunday Schools?" asked the Alberta Breezes reporter. "Those who attend don't need it, and we can't get those in who do need it."[43] Statements like this last one were few and far between. Either the women didn't realize that in many cases they were preaching to the converted, or if they did they decided it was better not to acknowledge the problem. Morale needed positive reinforcement.

The work in the Sunday Schools pursued a number of tactics and it indicated the close ties between the Protestant Churches and the WCTU. In the beginning the quarterly temperance lesson was considered all that was needed for educational work in the Sunday Schools. Using the Quarterly Temperance Lessons put out by the Ontario WCTU, the Sunday School teacher had lesson plans, materials, and suggestions for topics, special speakers, and a temperance program.[44] In 1912 thirty-five Sunday Schools in Alberta observed Temperance Sunday, used the WCTU Temperance Quarterlies, and encouraged the students to sign pledges at the completion of the temperance lessons.[45]

World Temperance Sundays were also ways of interesting Sunday School goers in this question. In conjunction with the Provincial Prohibition Association, the Alberta WCTU Sunday School department launched a campaign for the special observance of this Sunday, featuring pledge signing, leaflet distribution, and helps for the Sunday School lesson on that day. In 1927, 40,000 copies of the temperance leaflet were distributed. The SS superintendent had only praise for the cooperation received from the churches to mark the special observance of World Temperance Sunday.[46]

In the late twenties both the churches and the WCTU increased their Sunday School activity. Some Schools appointed a temperance superintendent and increased the temperance program to once a month or once every two months.[47] The WCTU also increased its activity and in 1928 launched a "nation-wide educational competition" through the Sunday Schools of all denominations. A series of lessons was prepared suitable for all ages and the Northern Messenger, an inter-denominational religious weekly, published in Montreal, agreed to promote the contest and publish the lessons. For a variety of reasons the SS papers of each denomination refused this service. Prizes in the total amount of $3000.00 were awarded the first year. The lessons, which consisted of the twelve chapters of Miss McCorkindale's book "Alcohol and Life" were published in twelve consecutive issues of the Messenger, and distributed through Sunday Schools.[48] The students would study the material, answer the questions at home, and return to the teacher. The examination was divided into "Junior Questions, for scholars 13 years old, or under" and "Senior Questions, to be answered by those of 14 to 17 inclusive." Each exam consisted of twenty-seven questions with varying marks assigned to each question. Junior questions included:

> What did John Melia say he had to do in order to win the Boston Marathon?
>
> What is the difference between grape juice and fermented wine?
>
> What is the duty of the white corpuscles?
>
> Name three intoxicating drinks.
>
> What are your three best arguments why anyone should not use alcoholic drinks?

Although some of these questions were also on the Senior exam, this exam was more taxing asking judgmental questions as well as factual ones:

> Why does not this generation change the custom of smoking?
>
> Many people think alcohol is useful and beneficial. Why this popular belief?
>
> In your own words give the meaning of the paragraph from "Gulliver's Travels."[49]

The WCTU announced this type of competition a tremendous success, with papers received from fifty-eight cities and towns in Alberta,[50] and they were heartened by the opportunity to combine the moral and scientific aspects of their educational program. It was their belief that the Church should give all its young people a definite program of temperance teaching and they believed they had found the way. It was up to the members to convince the church they attended to promote this program. By 1931 the WCTU had successfully integrated its educational competition into a "National Temperance Study Course for Sunday Schools" sponsored by the Religious Education Council of Canada and the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. The lessons appeared in the Sunday School papers for October 4, 11, 18 and 25 and November 1. They consisted of stories surrounding one theme. For example, "Beaten at the Start" extolled the virtues of temperance for the athlete. Exams were given and the Sunday Schools awarded Pass and Honour certificates, and the WCTU prizes.[51]

The Canadian Girl and The Canadian Boy, papers published by the United Church of Canada, included six temperance lessons in their 1930 editions, running through October and November. The titles of the lessons, Alcohol and the Human body, Alcohol and Well-Being, Alcohol and Health, for example, were reminiscent of the WCTU material, as were the questions and the certificates awarded. The 1931 National Temperance Study Course seemed to be a combination of this United Church material, and the WCTU Messenger contest. The churches and the WCTU had joined forces in the Sunday School.[52]

What is interesting about the Sunday School work was the timing. The WCTU had had a Sunday School department from its inception and it had promoted the quarterly temperance lesson with some, but by no means all Sunday Schools participating. The churches held total abstinence views, and yet in the early years, the SS did not always teach the temperance lessons. It wasn't until the late twenties that both groups, the WCTU and the churches, began to make a more concerted effort to include temperance teaching in SS. Two possible reasons suggest themselves: the WCTU finally realized that STI in the public schools was not going to do the job that they had hoped it would, and that the one other institution that did speak to a good number of children was the SS. At the same time, perhaps, the churches saw government control instituted and realized that alcohol was now readily available to all, and that perhaps its use was acceptable, sanctioned by government authority. It became more important than ever that the youth get proper training in temperance principles. The Sunday School program was the best vehicle at hand for this purpose.

Youth Groups - An Assessment

There can be no doubt that the WCTU was convinced of the necessity of educating the youth of the province to temperance - their problem was how to do it. What was the best possible way of attracting the youth - not only to prohibition sentiments, but also to train them to become prohibition workers. Their answer was that every avenue should be explored, every method should be tried, every age group should be contacted. Although the public school might be the best route to approach all children, there were hazards. The teaching and content were in hands of strangers, some of whom would be uncommitted strangers. The ladies had little control over the public school classroom, even after they had adopted an approved textbook. A much better way of controlling the kind of temperance teaching was to reach the children themselves, through various youth groups. Although now in control, the youth groups were poorly attended, except for the Sunday School programs in the late twenties. Why was the SS more successful than the other youth groups? Probably because it was an already organized educational structure. To plug into this institution pedagogical techniques and programs for temperance was much easier than attracting children to, organizing entertainment for, and teaching temperance principles to youth groups. The material for the SS program was developed at the national level, leaving the local WCTU women with only the job of convincing temperance-prone churches to commit themselves to the course. The LWR, LTL, and Y groups took much more effort at the local level, and depended much more upon the hard work, ingenuity and imagination of the women themselves. It was also perhaps easier to work with the SS program because the women were not directly involved. The youth groups would include a variety of children, of committed and uncommitted parents and would require an ability on the part of the superintendents to handle children from a variety of backgrounds personally and in groups. The SS, although it might be akin to preaching to the converted, was the easier, if not the most effective, program, for reaching the youth of the province.

EDUCATION OF ADULTS

Education was the primary method of WCTU work, and this included education of the adult as well as of the child. The result of education, according to the women, would be the "formation of an intelligent sentiment in favor of Total Abstinence." This sentiment along with improved legislation would have the desired effect of creating a dry society. As an Anniversary project in 1929 the provincial WCTU proposed a "great campaign extending to every corner of the Province to register the Total Abstinence sentiment of the adult population in every community." This campaign would not form a new organization, or necessarily secure new members for the WCTU; it would not set up a permanent committee, nor would it charge a membership fee; but it would mobilize the forces and find out how much total abstinence sentiment existed in the province.[53] In other words the results of this campaign might indicate to the women if any of their educational programs had desired effects, particularly those geared to the adults of the province. Rather than any overall program for all the adults the WCTU divided the work among adults according to occupations and to origins.

Work Among Foreigners or the Canadianization Department

Mrs. L.C. McKinney, in a 1910 address, expressed the philosophy of the Work Among Foreigners department: ". . . [they] must be educated to higher standards or our whole national life will be lowered by their presence among us."[54] First and foremost, this meant the teaching of English to the foreign people. The sentiment among WCTU members was that "these foreign people will never be Canadianized until they understand our language, and they will never understand it until we take some extra means of teaching them." The public school had failed in this regard, they believed, as a survey done in a "typical Austrian settlement" proved that English had not been made the language of the community. The women decided it was their "patriotic duty to bend our energy toward this first task in assimilation . . . ." Once the people had learned English, then the cultivation and development among them of "the Canadian soul" could take place. What the WCTU meant of course was the cultivation of the "temperate" Canadian soul.[55]

To teach English to people in these communities the ladies tried a number of methods. The most direct method was holding night classes. Not many of these were sponsored by the WCTU, but Wetaskiwin, Edmonton, and Youngstown made efforts in this direction. The problems of night classes included both a location and a teacher. In some cases the local schoolboard offered a classroom, while teachers could be secured for a fee. In a couple of instances the fees were returned.[56] Although this was the most direct method of teaching English it was not popular. A second method, also direct, but not WCTU-sponsored, was to get the authorities to mount an educational campaign. The Lamont local urged "a sort of university extension course in their own language" for newly enfranchised but non-English-speaking citizens.[57] Many ladies lamented the fact that at the end of three years any foreigner could become naturalized and have full right of franchise, "even though he be in every way unfit for the responsibility." Unscrupulous politicians and the liquor forces could easily influence the foreigner "at the time of a campaign, where moral issues are at stake."[58] Night classes in English and duties of citizenship, with temperance principles included, was the ideal way to educate the foreigner. Unfortunately, they were few and far between.

The distribution of literature, written in the foreign language, was a more indirect method of WCTU education of the foreign peoples. Greenshields supplied temperance campaign literature to French and Polish peoples; Medicine Hat put copies of Ruthenian leaflets in Bibles, and the Methodist SS took care of the distribution; Calgary distributed leaflets in German, Italian, and Hebrew; Edmonton sent French literature to the Peace River district; and Edson, Viking and Olds supplied literature in the Polish, Russian, German, and French languages.[59] Most of the unions in Alberta that had a Work Among Foreigners Department distributed literature. It was a relatively inexpensive, non-time-consuming method of furthering the cause. It was the type of work which could be done by one person. How effective it was is unclear. We do not know what happened to the literature after it left the women, and if delivered (some foreign ministers agreed to deliver it to their parishioners) we don't know if it was read.

Another way of educating the "stranger within our gates" was through personal contact. Three methods were tried: the community centre, the 'hired' missionary, and the 'foreign' worker. The community centre idea received the most publicity, both provincially and nationally, and was considered an ideal way to convert the foreigner, however few community centers were ever established. They proved costly, as both paying the salary of the worker, and building and equipping a proper community centre were expensive items. Workers were hard to find. Being willing to work for a low salary, in less than ideal surroundings, and believing in temperance principles were not readily available characteristics. The few that did operate reported cooperation from residents and local school teachers, and interest among the young people.[60]

The 'foreign' worker idea was to pay the salary of a person of the foreign community to promote temperance principles. By going from door to door, holding evening meetings, and seizing any opportunity of a group gathering to expound temperance sentiment these workers spread the word. Like community centers they were few and far between and travel was always a problem. Recognizing the importance of this kind of work and the difficulty of transportation the WCTU supplied Mr. Lopushinsky with a Ford motor car during the 1923 plebiscite campaign.[61]

The 'hired' missionary was a shorter term effort and was usually initiated by a local union. The women would contact a missionary working among foreigners, present him with temperance literature, pledge cards, and a donation, and hopefully he would espouse temperance principles as he worked among the people. The Creighton Union gave $10.00 toward the support of a missionary, while one of the Edmonton unions donated $38.00 to two missionaries working among the German population.[62] This kind of effort, like the previous two, probably reached few people. It did not involve the ladies themselves in personal contact with the foreign population. Their contribution was one of organizing and financing these projects.

There was, however, some individual contact by the members with the foreign population. Some unions worked directly with the non-English speaking in their midst by holding meetings and inviting the foreign women. In 1916 Crescent Heights held seven meetings with foreign women and in Edmonton semi-monthly meetings were organized with the foreign community in mind. Both High River and Edmonton reported visiting Chinese houses, and the Edmonton women also went to the Chinese women's quarters.[63]

Although the WCTU called the "Work Among Foreigners" or the Canadianization Department as it was renamed in the twenties, a very important branch of their work, and although they tried a number of tactics to influence the newcomer, the results must have been less than satisfying. The ethnic vote in the communities north and east of Edmonton remained pro-alcoholic through both the 1915 and 1923 plebiscites.[64] The community centers, the 'foreign' worker, the hired missionary, distribution of literature, and the meetings with the women had not made enough difference to swing the vote. Two points should be stressed. The above methods were not widespread and were not continued consistently over the time period in question. Secondly, the problem was an immense one. Not only did these people need to be taught English and Canadian ways, in many cases espousing prohibition sentiment also meant denouncing cultural traditions associated with weddings, christenings and wakes. Although the techniques used were sound, and the problem attacked in a number of ways, the lack of personal involvement by the women may have been crucial to the outcome. It would be difficult to convert from afar. It was, however, entirely consistent with the middle class, Anglo-Saxon background of these women. The attitude toward foreigners so clearly expressed in the pages of the White Ribbon Tidings (see Chapter Four), would not be conducive to personal contact.[65]

Work Amongst Indians

The sentiment among members of the WCTU concerning Indian work was that "there is not surely a nobler work for the WCTU than Missionary work, and our cause of temperance can find no greater or more needy field of work than this ... to teach and uplift them ... a people who knew not the evils of intemperance until our own traders came into this country and taught them to drink ... ."[66] This work consisted of visits to the missions by superintendents, and the distribution of magazines, Church and Sunday School papers. In 1920 the Alberta superintendent for Indian work visited three reserves, the Sarcee, Peigan and Blood Reserves. At St. Paul's School WCTU pamphlets were distributed to the ex-pupils in camp and to the older pupils in the school. St. Barnabas School on the Sarcee Reserve was in the hands of a Miss Tims, a missionary who taught the children to be firm in their principles of temperance.[67] The 1921 Report gave a more detailed account of the kind of work undertaken by the Indian department. The superintendent was invited to attend the Christmas Tree entertainment at the Sarcee School where she delivered a temperance address to the elder Indians. This address sparked a request that a Union be organized on the reserve. Before leaving, Mrs. Houlton, the Superintendent, was gratified to see arrangements made for nine to take the pledge.

In February she addressed a reunion for ex-pupils held at St. Paul's Mission School on the Blood Reserve. A temperance address on the "Evils of Alcohol" was given on the first day. The second day Mrs. Houlton gave a temperance story illustrated with lantern slides. Following this reunion a visit was made to Brocket, the home of the

Peigan Indians. An illustrated temperance address, with a translation, was to be followed by a visit to the Victoria Home School. A meeting at Morley with the Stony Indians was arranged for the fall.[68]

Individual unions contributed magazine and Sunday School papers and had leaflets and pamphlets sent from the Literature Depository to these and other reserves. For example, the Hay River Mission received leaflets on the question of alcohol for mothers and young children.[69] This kind of WCTU work was well received on the reserves by the missionaries, who, often, were members of a local WCTU. Hand in hand with temperance work among Indians went the need for charity - for food and clothing; for biblical pictures to help with Christianization; and for cash donations. For example, the Methodist missionary at Good-Fish Lake appealed for books and games for a club house, which he hoped would counteract the attraction of the dance hall and the moonshiners. "Thirty-six books, twelve games, twelve framed pictures, a steropticon and a set of views were sent by the WCTU for the clubroom last December."[70] In the southern part of Alberta, the Peigan Indians were in great distress during the winter months and the Rev. W.R. Haynes asked the ladies of the WCTU for food and clothing.[71] Other requests came for help in the training of a young Indian woman as a nurse and the prospects of a young Indian training as a missionary. Archdeacon Tims, getting on in years and crippled from rheumatism and sciatica, asked the WCTU to pay the salary of a helper, to work with him on the Sarcee Reserve.

Some of the resolutions of the Annual Convention in 1922 were associated with Indian work. It was resolved:

1. That the Indian Department of the Government be pressed to see that all births, marriages and deaths be registered.

2. That field matrons be placed on each Indian reserve.
    (a) To visit regularly the homes and encourage the women to keep them in a sanitary condition.
    (b) Especially to visit the young mothers and assist them in the care and feeding of their babies.
3. That clubrooms be established near the agency or mission where both literature and games would be provided - this would take the place of the dances, which should be discouraged as much as possible.

In viewing the resolutions and the conditions among Indians, a suggestion was made at the Dominion Convention that a committee be appointed, including Mrs. Houlton, to make a number of requests to the Indian Department. They were particularly concerned about what they saw as "the urgent need of establishing in each Province a House of Refuge for the aged, infirm and crippled Indians and a supervised camp for tubercular Indians." They also hoped to convince the department that a continuation school for Indian youth, who wish to prepare for trades or professions, be established with proper supervision and to ascertain if the federal government would pay the salaries of some volunteer students who could work on remote reserves during the winter months.[72]

The WCTU felt that the sorry plight of the Indian was caused by the white man, who deprived the Indian of his lands, his food in the form of Buffalo meat, his traditional existence by confining him to reserves, and who introduced the Indian to "firewater" and continued to quench his thirst with it. Therefore, the first duty of Christian women was to teach the Indian how to live a civilized, Christian, temperate existence.[73] The Indian needs, however, were more immediate - clothes, food, houses. The WCTU found itself involved in the much more traditional woman's role of dispensing charity. Lectures on temperance, reading material that spoke of the evils of alcohol, would not have much effect on the cold, starving Indian. So the Department of Indian Work set aside its educational aims and tried first to make the physical lot of the Indian more comfortable.

This department also differed in another way from some of the educational efforts undertaken in other areas. This work among Indians was almost completely done by the Superintendent, Mrs. Houlton. Visits to reserves, talks to Indians, getting pledges etc. seemed to be handled solely by Mrs. Houlton, the Provincial Superintendent. The Indian group within the various locals supplied literature and food and clothing to many reserves, but were not involved in personal, educational work. Because of this phenomena only the reserves in Southern Alberta were visited, those near Mrs. Houlton's home in Calgary. The results of Work Among Indians is particularly hard to judge. Since they didn't have the vote, results of plebiscites don't tell us if the WCTU efforts were helpful along temperance lines. This department did not receive much attention or space in the annual reports, few local unions became involved in Indian work, and requests for aid often had to be taken from the Provincial treasury. It would seem that this department was not successful in either improving the physical aspects of the Indian life or in making the Indian see the dangers in alcohol. Since many of the missionaries on reserves were temperance supporters, some even members of a nearby WCTU, the temperance mission was safely left in their hands.

Education Among Working Men

Although the foreigner and the Indian were obvious targets for the educational applications of the WCTU the work was not confined to these groups alone. From its earliest beginnings in the east, the organization had had departments devoted to working groups, departments such as Lumber Camps and Mines, Railway Workers, and Sailors, Soldiers and Military. The first two of these saw some limited activity in the West. The women were concerned that men, living in barracks, or camps, lonely and bored, would find the temptation of the bottle only too easy and available. The Department of Lumber Camps and Mines, therefore, was set up to supply these men with literature, articles of comfort, and motherly advice. The work of this department involved soliciting literature in the form of magazines, newspapers, and books; acquiring small items which would be gifts of comfort to the men; making comfort bags and filling them with these items; procurring temperance literature from the literature depository; and sending this material to the various places where these men were working. Items included in a "comfort bag" might be such things as elastics, bandages, safety pins, sewing needles and threads, pencils, soap and stationery. Along with these "usual" items was a goodly amount of reading material "with temperance leaflets generally scattered all through them."[74]

One union sent the comfort bags filled with the above items, plus a marked testament pointing to temperance selections, and a "personal, motherly letter."[75] In 1917 the Provincial Department of Lumber Camps and Mines reported that the camps at Blackie, twenty-five miles from High River, and Sawridge, at the mouth of the Lesser Slave River in Athabasca Country, had been supplied with material, as had the

Pocahontas mine, a coal mine seventy-nine miles west of Edson. The Alberta and Great Waterways steel terminal was also the recipient of WCTU comfort bags. During the war this department broadened its mandate to include the fighting men and newspapers and magazines were sent to several battalions and the Moor Barracks Hospital.[76] The Hanna district sent a regular supply of reading material to soldiers during the war. These packages, sent to personnel in training camps, hospitals, and at the front, contained "bright, interesting literature, mixed with anti-narcotic leaflets."[77] Westcott, Strathcona and Prince Albert unions accomplished "splendid work in lumber camps and mines."[78]

This department, educational in nature, operated as a charitable venture, supplying lonely men working away from their families with some of the comforts of home. Like the Indians and Foreign Work, it was also WCTU activity at a distance, requiring no personal contact by the members with the men they sought to help. It was also one of the departments that continued to assign a superintendent, but whose activities became less and less as the years wore on. In the 1915 plebiscite, returns show that areas near these camps and mines voted wet. Edson, Athabasca, and the Lethbridge, Pincher Creek area were against prohibition in 1915, and strongly in favor of government control in 1923.[79] The WCTU was correct in their belief that these men needed temperance education. The women, however, seemed to have been singularly unsuccessful in their efforts.

Prison Work

The Prison Reform and Police Station department was formed to help the prisoner, both while in prison, and after release. It was particularly interested in the fate of women prisoners, girls on probation, and prostitutes. Over the years it agitated for police matrons, female judges, juvenile courts and poor man's lawyers. The rationale for these requests was that a sympathetic hearing, an inexpensive trial and a more pleasant treatment would put these women in a better frame of mind - able to withstand temptation and earn an honest living. It might also put them in contact with temperance women who would be able to "educate" them to "right living." For example, a local probation officer told the women about three young girls, "surrounded by evil and with practically no religious background." By befriending them and arousing their interest at least one girl "has been saved from an evil life and is now in a respectable position."[80] Judge Emily Murphy requested the Prison Reform department coordinate with the UFWA and the Women's Institutes on the problems of prostitutes.[81] Other kinds of activities included visits to the prisons to hand out temperance literature, sending good reading materials to inmates, meeting released prisoners, especially women, to give them direction, and holding temperance meetings inside the prison walls.[82]

The Prison Reform department in Alberta only ran from 1910 to 1921 under the leadership first of Mrs. Noble from Edmonton and then Mrs. MacCallum of Calgary. This short existence can probably be explained by a couple of factors. Very few women could actually work this department because most towns did not have prisons. Sometimes the ladies who did try met with refusal, as the group in Prince Albert who tried to send flowers on Mother's Day.[83] Generally, though, the difficulty with prison work was that it overlapped that done by the various Protestant churches. Since many of the WCTU members were involved in prison work through the churches the prison reform department did not attract many workers.

Travellers' Aid Department

The aim of the Travellers Aid Department was to help out people travelling across the country, particularly women and children. The WCTU wished to make such travel safe for these women, as many young girls travelled alone. They organized a department in a number of unions which met trains, offered overnight accommodation, gave directions, and generally offered assistance to the inexperienced traveller. They received permission from station masters to have a supply of WCTU literature available in the stations and when necessary they supplied food and housing in their own homes.[84] This was an excellent, visible method of "educating" adults as sometimes this acquaintance continued. The message was that the WCTU helped you: you help them by becoming a member and spreading the temperance sentiment. In 1922 Travellers' Aid in Alberta met 5013 trains and assisted 9203 passengers, making sure that along with the help in the form of accommodation, food, directions, health care and job opportunities, temperance leaflets were also distributed and a pledge card pressed upon each traveller. In 1925 a uniform Traveller's Aid badge - the same all over the world - came into use. This was considered an important way of making travel safe for women and girls.[85] In carrying out this activity the ladies co-operated with other organizations, particularly the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), which had long been involved with helping the single, young woman. Churches were also interested in new residents and often the WCTU member directed the new arrival to her home church.[86]

Travellers' Aid, like prison work and the education of working men, tended to be more a charitable department than an educational one. And yet they did, through this activity, try to educate the travelling public to the evil effects of alcohol and to encourage a pro-temperance sentiment. The department was viable wherever a train station was located, but particularly in more populated centres like Calgary and Edmonton. The work tended to fall heavily on the shoulders of the local superintendent, but other members did assist. Often the head of Travellers' Aid for the WCTU local in the town left her phone number on a card at the station, or in the station master's office to be used when needed. The amount of temperance sentiment spread in this way is, of course, impossible to judge. The impact of the charitable activity probably was much greater. The ladies did perform a needed service.

Education of Adults - An Assessment

The education of adults was a much more difficult proposition than that of children for a couple of reasons. First of all, many adults had a lifetime of acquaintance with alcohol, saw no harm in its use, and saw it as an integral part of their culture and family celebrations. The prohibition of alcoholic beverages was also considered a restriction of freedom, something many adults were wary of. They didn't feel it was anybody's business what they ate or drank. A third reason adult education was not as easy to get off the ground as the children's program was the lack of a captive audience. Most children attended school, many went to Sunday School, and a goodly number liked belonging to youth groups. Some of the women of the WCTU had had teaching experience, and knew techniques and methods of appealing to children. As mothers and housewives they spent a lot of time in the company of children and were perhaps comfortable working with them. The same was not necessarily true for adults. A hostile, or at the most, apathetic audience; an audience that was difficult to pin down on a regular basis; and women who had little experience working with or teaching adults were not the ingredients needed for a successful program of adult temperance education.

In light of these difficulties the adult education programs tended to become charitable rather than educational enterprises. Each of the groups mentioned needed help of some kind - food, clothing, accommodation, friendship. Each was deemed lacking by the ladies in the essentials of Christian citizenship. The WCTU members, for the most part, were members of other charitable groups and were therefore experienced in charitable, benevolent activities; they were more comfortable with these measures of reaching the poor and the sinners than they were with more progressive attempts. They also offered this help at a distance rather than getting personally involved, which probably tells us more about their middle class background and patronizing attitude to other classes and cultures than it does about their genuine concern for these groups. Their tactic was to provide charitable help in the hope that a temperance attitude would result. With specific individuals this may have worked. With the total group, whether foreigners, Indians, prisoners, working men or travellers, the outcome was not what the ladies wanted.

OTHER EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES

To back up the educational efforts among both children and adults the WCTU supplied materials, agitated for press coverage, and offered a school of methods. These tactics had three outcomes: to try and keep the WCTU members up to date on issues regarding temperance; to serve as an indirect form of education for the general public; and to supply the needed materials, advertising and methodology for the regular activities of the union.

Literature Depository

The Literature Depository kept a supply of materials on hand - pamphlets, leaflets, books, copies of provincial laws regarding alcohol and tobacco, and union newspapers. It supplied these materials to unions on request, made sure that literature was available in a variety of foreign languages, and kept WCTU coffee houses and reading rooms furnished with enough reading material. It acted as a sort of clearing house for the newest materials and was an indispensable back-up to union activities. The statistics on alcohol abuse, the results of world-wide campaigns, as well as provincial and federal regulations, were at the members' fingertips.

A literature table was set up at each convention pointing out new materials and books, and stressing possible ways the literature could be used, calling it "good mental food."[87] In 1915 Wetaskiwin took credit for distributing 160,000 pages of material, including cards, blotters, posters, temperance quarterlies and "The Bottle and the Boy" pamphlet.[88]

After the plebiscite campaign of 1915, the extension of the franchise to women in 1916, and Louise McKinney's election as an MLA in 1917, the women believed that woman power had arrived. The secretary in charge of the literature depository for the province advised "every woman study ... legislation ... parliamentary proceedings, and have the latest scientific knowledge ... that no individual may lower the standard of the whole body by lack of mental equipment."[89] Through the holdings of the literature depository the adult, the child, and the WCTU member herself would be educated.

Press Department

The Press Department, also, was important to union activities. Publicity in the secular press augmented the work of the WCTU by being an indirect form of education. It helped keep temperance sentiment before the public and was a boost to the confidence of the women who saw their ideas and protestations about the liquor traffic in print. "The printed page is a wonderful educator of the public mind" were the words of Mrs. Craig in 1905.[90] This department suggested a number of possibilities for press work to the women. First of all, publicity for all the work of the Union "to show we are not asleep as some think we are" including notices and accounts of meetings, visiting speakers and WCTU workers from elsewhere, and coverage of union activities. The Press Department encouraged members to respond to material contrary to temperance sentiment, by placing true facts about alcohol abuse and the ruin caused by drink in the papers.[91] The third tactic the union used was to try to get publishers to eliminate whisky and beer advertisements. In this regard Canada was contrasted poorly with the state of Kansas, which was reported to have 700 papers that refused all such ads. The WCTU could name only two in Canada, The Witness of Montreal and The News, Toronto.[92] At the 1927 convention in Edmonton a resolution was passed calling on the administration of the Province to prevent advertising in the press of liquor, beer, and wine. The resolution was not a unanimous one, opponents arguing that the obvious course for prohibition supporters to follow was to only subscribe to papers which did not carry these ads. It was argued, also, that "any procedure which interfered with the advertising of goods which had legal sanction" was foolish in the extreme.[93] Good coverage of WCTU material was evident when a provincial convention was held, or a well-known temperance speaker addressed a meeting. The ladies complained that regular coverage of local union activities and meetings was difficult to achieve.

Educational Support - An Assessment

The Literature Depository, the Press Department, and the School of Methods, which offered advice on running meetings, obtaining pledges, getting recruits and making the program work, were all support systems for the activities of the WCTU. Of these the Literature Depository was the most visible, and the most helpful. It sent out the material as requested, kept a good set of books, and generally was successful in supplying requested materials. The fact that the overall educational program was unsuccessful has less to do with the operation of the Depository than it does with the social problem the ladies were trying to change. The best equipped library in the world won't cause people to read - they have to be properly motivated first.

The Press Department depended on two things: the good will of the newspaper editors to publish the material sent in; and work on the part of the Press Steward to write up the material in presentable form for the newspapers. Lack of commitment by both the editor and the WCTU presswoman in this regard meant that press coverage was uneven. As an educational support it was inconsistent, unreliable, and sometimes sensational. In 1927 the Edmonton Journal flashed headlines which read: "Attributes Defeat of Prohibition to Foreign Element Plus Minority." Mrs. McKinney's address had spoken of the disastrous results of government sale, the need to work among children and young people, the ability and necessity of keeping up with new methods, such as plays, pageants and posters, and the fact that the WCTU had failed to establish sympathetic touch with the peoples of different customs and mode of living.[94] The tone of McKinney's speech hardly seemed to justify the headline.

The School of Methods, although touted as a way of teaching the women how to organize, suffered from lack of interest, no one qualified to take on the job, and little support from the provincial executive. The educational support system of the WCTU included a well-run Literature Depository, an uneven Press Department, and an incompetent School of Methods. Given the difficulty associated with temperance education, top-performance in all three areas was probably critical to some measure of progress.

EDUCATION OUTSIDE THE SCHOOL - AN ASSESSMENT

Within this generation a revolution has occurred in the way we view the history of education. No longer is it confined only to a study of the public school. Since Bernard Bailyn's Education in the Forming of American Society, historians have realized that all institutions educate, and to ignore them is to ignore a vital component of social progress and social change.[95] The WCTU members obviously understood this clearly, for a good part of their organization was devoted to educational work - much of which took place outside the school. In her 1926 address to the convention McKinney summarized: "Realizing that education is the only sure way of developing an enlightened public conscience, we have directed our efforts during the year mainly along educational lines." She listed the educational work of the past year as including, besides STI and Essay Contests, "Y" and LTL work, the Sunday School department, Work Among Foreigners, and the Literature Depository and Methods Schools.[96] The only sure way to develop a temperance sentiment and a respect for law, was by a "continued educational campaign in every part of the province."[97]

The WCTU leaders expressed great faith in education and yet that faith was not rewarded by victory - by their goal of a dry province and a dry country. Perhaps part of the reason they were ineffective was the small number of members they had, the diversity of their reform interests and the quality of their educational work. Of the work outside the school that they attempted, only the Sunday School campaign reached a substantial number of children. The rest of their educational effort was plagued by language difficulties, impersonal effort, lack of money and the inability to reach large numbers of people. The area where they were most successful - the Sunday School - was probably the area that needed their efforts the least. The foreign population, which McKinney was sure was pro-alcohol, was numerous, scattered, difficult to deal with because of language and customs, and "not always pleasant to work with." Because of these reasons the WCTU chose to put this particular educational work in the hands of hired missionaries. The results were far from successful.

In many instances the use of alcohol was a cultural one, an integral part of weddings and other celebrations. For some people it was good medicine, was prescribed by doctors for a variety of illnesses. How could it be a poison? For the manufacturers and retailers alcohol was a livelihood. To prohibit it would destroy their way of making a living. To others, a glass or two before dinner or retiring was a pleasant activity - akin to good food or fine music. With these kinds of reasons on the side of the manufacture and sale of liquor and beer, the women had a monumental task. That their efforts fell short should not be surprising. What is of interest is their uncanny belief in education and the understanding that this included a lot more than the public school.

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER 6

[1] Report of the Annual Convention of the Alberta Woman's Christian Temperance Union, 1923, p. 43, Box 6, File 35, WCTU(B) papers, Glenbow (hereafter Alta. WCTU AR, 1923, p. 43).

[2] Alta. WCTU AR, 1920, p. 37.

[3] Alta. WCTU AR, 1918, p. 32.

[4] Undated, unsigned letter in WCTU files, Glenbow; possibly Mrs. Stewart to Mrs. McElroy, in the late 1920's. F3, B1(E).

[5] Alta. WCTU AR, 1927, p. 68-69.

[6] Memorandum on Little White Ribboners' Department of Work adopted by Dominion WCTU. B8, F46(E).

[7] "Wise Words to Mothers and Fathers" concerning Alcohol and Its Influence on Health by Florence Stackpoole. B1, F16(E).

[8] Memorandum on Little White Ribboners.

[9] Report of the Annual Convention of the Alberta-Saskatchewan Woman's Christian Temperance Union, 1905, pp. 33-34 (hereafter Alta.-Sask. WCTU AR, 1905, pp. 33-34).

[10] Alta. WCTU AR, 1917, p. 60.

[11] Alta.-Sask. WCTU AR, 1910, p. 30.

[12] Alta. WCTU AR, 1917, p. 60.

[13] Alta. WCTU AR, 1927, p. 68.

[14] Alta. WCTU AR, 1917, p. 59.

[15] Alta. WCTU AR, 1918, p. 70.

[16] Alta. WCTU AR, 1921, p. 68.

[17] Loyal Temperance Legion of Canada (LTL) (constitution and suggestions for juvenile temperance work); and Lesson Manual with Hints and Helps. Mrs. A.E. Jones papers, Archives of Saskatchewan, Regina (hereafter A/S(R)).

[18] Alta.-Sask. WCTU AR, 1911, p. 81.

[19] Alta.-Sask. WCTU AR, 1908, p. 50.

[20] Alta.-Sask. WCTU AR, 1911, p. 67.

[21] Alta. WCTU AR, 1915, p. 47.

[22] Alta. WCTU AR, 1913, p. 56.

[23] Alta.-Sask. WCTU AR, 1911, p. 67.

[24] Alta.-Sask. WCTU AR, 1908, p. 50.

[25] Alta. WCTU AR, 1917, p. 48 and AR, 1919, p. 32.

[26] Alta. WCTU AR, 1919, p. 35.

[27] Alta. WCTU AR, 1920, p. 53.

[28] Alta.-Sask. WCTU AR, 1911, p. 66.

[29] Alta. WCTU AR, 1921, p. 54-55.

[30] The figures on LTL membership are found in each annual report along with the number of unions and overall membership. Missing for the years 1913 to 1917 are the numbers of children enrolled in the LTLs in Alberta.

[31] Alta. WCTU AR, 1921, p. 55.

[32] Canadian White Ribbon Tidings, Oct. 1929, p. 201 and White Ribbon Tidings, Aug. 1905, p. 416.

[33] Alta.-Sask. WCTU AR, 1905, p. 33.

[34] Canadian White Ribbon Tidings, Oct. 1929, p. 201. Although the "Y" was aimed at young women, men could become honorary members. They could not, however, hold office, because women needed at least one organization where by constitution they held office and learned how to run a meeting and make decisions. White Ribbon Tidings, July 1905, p. 392.

[35] IBID.

[36] Alta. WCTU AR, 1921, p. 55. The White Ribbon Tidings for April 1912 listed twenty-seven activities a "Y" could do - from editing a temperance newspaper for Sunday Schools and organizing a sunshine band to visit "shut ins," to putting Bibles and good reading matter in cabooses of freight trains and holding a newspaper clipping evening with prizes for the most temperance clippings.

[37] Alta. WCTU AR, 1920, p. 51.

[38] Canadian White Ribbon Tidings, March 1928, p. 68.

[39] Alta. WCTU AR, 1923, p. 61-63.

[40] Alta. WCTU AR, 1921, p. 56.

[41] See Chapter 2, footnotes 5 and 16 and Report of the Annual Convention of the Northwest Territories Woman's Christian Temperance Union, 1904, p. 20 (hereafter NWT WCTU AR, 1904, p. 20).

[42] Report of the Biennial Convention of the Dominion Woman's Christian Temperance Union, 1922, pp. 17-18 (hereafter Dominion WCTU AR, 1922, pp. 17-18).

[43] Canadian White Ribbon Tidings, Feb. 1928, p. 35.

[44] Alta.-Sask. WCTU AR, 1912, pp. 91-92, and Alta. WCTU AR, 1929, p. 73.

[45] IBID, 1912, p. 91-92.

[46] Alta. WCTU AR, 1927, p. 31.

[47] Alta. WCTU AR, 1929, p. 73.

[48] Alta. WCTU AR, 1928, p. 36; Canadian White Ribbon Tidings, Nov. 1929, p. 224; and The Northern Messenger, Jan. 1930, p. 14.

[49] The Northern Messenger, Jan. 1930, p. 14.

[50] Dominion WCTU AR, 1929.

[51] 1931 National Temperance Study Course for Sunday Schools. Board of Christian Education, Church School Administration. Temperance Lessons, 1931-1940. B12, F80, United Church of Canada Archives.

[52] The Canadian Girl and The Canadian Boy, see Oct. 11, 18, 25, Nov. 1, 8, 15, 1930.

[53] Alta. WCTU AR, 1929, p. 42.

[54] Alta.-Sask. WCTU AR, 1910, p. 28.

[55] Alta. WCTU AR, 1918, p. 67.

[56] See Alta. WCTU AR, 1915, p. 60; AR, 1916, p. 58; and AR, 1917, p. 59.

[57] Alta. WCTU AR, 1916, p. 38.

[58] Alta. WCTU AR, 1910, p. 28.

[59] Dominion WCTU AR, 1913, p. 108 and AR, 1916, pp. 90-92.

[60] Alta. WCTU AR, 1918, p. 67 and AR, 1922, p. 96.

[61] See Alta. WCTU AR, 1923, pp. 43, 83 and AR, 1927, p. 65; Canadian White Ribbon Tidings, April 1927, p. 93; and letter to "White Ribbon Sisters" from M.E. Rush, Superintendent Canadianization, Nov. 29, 1923. B1, F1, (E).

[62] Dominion WCTU AR, 1916, pp. 90-92.

[63] IBID and Dominion WCTU AR, 1913, p. 108.

[64] See Chapter 5, footnote 85, and Appendices 2 and 4.

[65] These articles on "foreign groups" including the native born Indians and the French in Quebec are most prominent in the White Ribbon Tidings between 1920 and 1925. See also Chapter 4, footnotes 72, 73 and 74.

[66] Alta. WCTU AR, 1921, p. 96.

[67] Alta. WCTU AR, 1920, p. 68.

[68] Alta. WCTU AR, 1921, pp. 93-96.

[69] IBID, p. 95.

[70] Dominion WCTU AR, 1922, p. 126.

[71] IBID, p. 127 and Alta. WCTU AR, 1921, p. 96.

[72] Dominion WCTU AR, 1922, p. 127 and Alta. WCTU AR, 1921, p. 119.

[73] Canadian White Ribbon Tidings, June 1922, p. 127.

[74] Report of the Annual Convention of the Saskatchewan Woman's Christian Temperance Union, 1914, p. 45. Record 158, B3, FIF, A/S(R) (hereafter Sask. WCTU AR, 1914, p. 45).

[75] IBID.

[76] Alta. WCTU AR, 1917, p. 58.

[77] Alta. WCTU AR, 1918, p. 46.

[78] See Alta. WCTU AR, 1921, pp. 68-70; Alta.-Sask. WCTU AR, 1910, p. 85 and AR, 1911, p. 48.

[79] See Appendices 2 and 4.

[80] Sask. WCTU AR, 1927, p. 81.

[81] Letter to Mrs. Murphy from Mrs. MacCallum, Provincial Superintendent Prison Reform, dated Sept. 21, 1918 and replies from Mrs. Murphy to Mrs. MacCallum, dated Sept. 29, and Oct. 31, 1918. Emily Murphy papers, B1, F22, City of Edmonton Archives.

[82] See prison reform reports for various years between 1910 and 1921.

[83] Sask. WCTU AR, 1928, p. 91.

[84] IBID, pp. 70-71.

[85] Alberta WCTU, The Story of the Years, 1913-1963. See 1917, 1922, and 1925 paragraphs.

[86] Sask. WCTU AR, 1928, p. 71.

[87] Alta.-Sask. WCTU AR, 1910, p. 47.

[88] Alta. WCTU AR, 1915, p. 64.

[89] Alta. WCTU AR, 1917, p. 48.

[90] Alta.-Sask. WCTU AR, 1905, p. 32.

[91] District Convention, High River, 1922. B1, F4(E). Address by Mrs. Babbs.

[92] Alta.-Sask. WCTU AR, 1908, p. 37.

[93] Edmonton Journal, Feb. 19, 1926. Article entitled "Liquor Ads in Press Warmly Condemned at Prohibition Meeting."

[94] Edmonton Journal, Oct. 27, 1927.

[95] Bernard Bailyn, Education in the Forming of American Society: Needs and Opportunities for Study. University of North Carolina Press, 1960.

[96] Alta. WCTU AR, 1926, pp. 27-28.

[97] Alta. WCTU AR, 1921, p. 37.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

This look into the organization, goals, successes and failures of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union in Alberta has provided a case study through which an examination can be made of the relationships between the temperance movement and the WCTU, between the WCTU and education, and between social and educational reform. The WCTU was both an active member of the temperance movement, belonging to the Alberta Prohibition Committee and the Temperance and Moral Reform League, as well as being an independent organization with its own constitution, organization, aims and methodology.

The role of the WCTU within the temperance movement in Alberta is an interesting one. Provincehood in 1905 saw an organized, revitalized WCTU actively joining with men's groups to help elect temperance men to the legislature. The WCTU and the Royal Templars of Temperance (RT of T) formed the Alberta Prohibition Committee and began a letter writing campaign questioning candidates for political office about their temperance views. This move, plus Mrs. Craig's interest in a Direct Legislation Act seemed to spark temperance interest in the new province. The Alberta Temperance and Moral Reform League was formed and prohibition eventually resulted in 1916. The WCTU took much of the credit, having addressed rallies, passed out posters and literature, secured names on the referendum petition, and generally contributed to the prohibition sentiment. As members of the Alberta Temperance and Moral Reform League they were active crusaders for prohibition and had been the first group in the province to adopt a provincial prohibition policy.

However, the WCTU stressed the educational component of their work, and they were the agency within the Alberta Temperance and Moral Reform league that tended to emphasize the educational aspects of the campaign. It was their belief that if a dry sentiment was to prevail then it would be done if their own members kept up to date, if children, the members of the next generation, were exposed to temperance facts and principles, and if adults generally were convinced of the evils of alcohol. As an independent organization using education as its medium, and long range prohibition as its goal the WCTU in Alberta had some difficulty. Their campaign to have a temperance curriculum in the school was delayed until prohibition itself was losing support, and their work with informal groups was hampered by a myriad of problems. The fact that their success was short term, had occurred when they acted as supporters of the Alberta Temperance and Moral Reform League, a male dominated organization, and was the result of petitioning, rallying, and the general creation of prohibition sentiment tells us something about the role of education in the society and the role of women in the affairs of the society.

By 1930 the WCTU had been in operation in Alberta for a quarter of a century. It had gone through birth pangs, organizational tremors, the excitement of a referendum campaign and victory, "defeat" in the government control referendum, and the broadening of the purpose and practical aspects of the organization. Throughout this growth and change "education", remained a constant of the WCTU. From the early years and votes on local option to the declining years after 1923 the cry was always, educate! From foreigners, Indians and uneducated workingmen, to children, young adults and their own members, they stressed this aspect of their work.

The faith the WCTU members displayed in education and in the public school was both predictable and satisfying. An organization of women at the turn of the century, an organization that was non-sectarian in goals and in membership, and one devoted to reform in the society was still considered an anomaly. Women were associated with the home and children, with a domestic status, and increasingly as urbanization and industrialization grew this domesticity meant an isolation from the secular world of business and power. And yet this world of business and power, this man's world, infringed on the domestic hearth. Decisions made in the workplace, actions of men outside the home, and determinations by government officials affected women and children in the home. Mitchinson concluded that one way of preserving their status as controllers of the home and family was to become active outside it, to use the broader range of the society to protect the home, women, and children from problems which would undermine them.[1] L.J. Wilson in an article on the educational role of the United Farm Women of Alberta came to the same conclusion. The woman in the home needed to be aware of social conditions, particularly those affecting children and youth. She could not afford to disregard matters outside the home that could effect the future of her children.[2]

Canadian society generally, had displayed a messianic faith in education, a belief that through increased educational opportunities all the ills of society could be erased. In Neil Sutherland's words, it was a view that stated that "schooling - and especially public schooling - is a "good thing" and the more widely and thoroughly Canadians distribute this good thing, the better their society will be."[3] If women were going to organize, if they were going to demand reform, if they were going to become active outside the home, then a focus on education generally, and on the school system would not appear to be a radical move. The women were acting out of their belief that society needed reform, and that the public school was an ideal institution to lead that reform. Since women had had some experience in the educational field, especially in public school teaching; since the public school could be viewed as an extension of the home; since women had become central in both occupations it was natural that education would become their focus. It was not perceived as women interfering in man's domain. They were protecting their own status in the home from problems and changes on the outside.

The educational function of the WCTU was carried out through a number of departments and functioned through both the formal and the informal educational arrangements of the society. Since their long term goal of a dry society was not realized some conclusions can be reached about the nature of both types of educational programs. Looking at the formal education institution first, it was found that the Department of Scientific Temperance Instruction wanted the schools to offer a compulsory temperance and hygiene course with WCTU approved textbooks, a graded curriculum, and an examination. This crusade for alcohol education in the schools provides a good example of the problems associated with groups outside the school seeking reform in the curriculum of the school. Of consequence is both the nature of the group seeking reform and the way the particular reform interest was viewed by department of education officials. In this case the Woman's Christian Temperance Union was a group with a very definite bias - all the problems of society were accountable to "King Alcohol," and only by eliminating the king would society improve. The battle was for total abstinence of the whole population. Louise McKinney equated temperance and prohibition: "[They] are the same thing" she told a member of the Legislative Assembly.[4] Moderation was not in the WCTU's vocabulary - at least not as far as alcohol was concerned. A little alcohol, to paraphrase a well-known adage, was a dangerous thing.

The Union, of course, did not stop with a theory. They did their utmost to convince others of the righteousness of their cause. Their use of pickets, placards, and petitions upset many and their advocacy of government interference in private industry and in the private affairs of individuals were seen as extreme ways of solving a social problem. Appealing to the public in these ways meant becoming visible, and women, like children, were expected "to be seen, but not heard" when it came to affairs of the world. They were stepping outside of their traditional role at their husbands' sides or at home tending the fires and the cooking. In a society that was already in upheaval, the male leaders, politicians and businessmen did not need another revolution on their hands - this time wrung by the quiescent female population. Woman's place was in the home argued both men and other women. Leave the laws, the politics, the reforms to the men.[5]

A third characteristic of the group was its feminine membership. A women's pressure group, during a time when women were not enfranchised could be ignored by politicians and government officials. And they were. This, in turn, made their powerlessness obvious and hastened their entrance into the fight for the extension of the suffrage.[6] Once suffrage was obtained, many still ignored the women arguing that they either did not exercise their franchise, or when they did they followed their husband's lead.[7] Frustrated by their own lack of power, and ignored by those who had the power, they rationalized both their actions and accomplishments as greater than they actually were. As a group needing support from parents, other citizens, and the professional educators if they were to be successful, they had a number of unpopular characteristics. The WCTU was not the kind of organization that was appreciated by those it sought to convince.

On the other side stood the department of education officials, teachers and local school trustees, whose co-operation the ladies needed. The department of education already had a program and a philosophy regarding temperance education. Faced with problems of establishing and keeping open schools and school districts, supplying qualified teachers, and educating a large non-English speaking population, school authorities had little interest in either the existing hygiene and temperance program or the WCTU version. The minister of education and the school trustees did not observe a grassroots interest in this matter, but rather saw that the agitation for alcohol education came from prohibition centred groups who not only had a definite bias, but who also lacked a political base. "We will not be forced by this small coterie of fanatics," said one educator. "They want to bind on us, with the shackles of the law, their particular little fad. If we yield, every other organization with a "cure-all" to exploit, will be emboldened to seek legal aid in foisting it upon the school curriculum."[8] Another problem from the department's point of view was the nature of the textbooks and the titles of the essays which advocated total prohibition. There were many "wets" in the province and the department, catering to all the people, realized that the course, the teaching, and the textbook used in alcohol education needed to be diplomatic. The WCTU program was hardly middle-of-the-road.[9]

The problem associated with groups outside the school seeking reform in the school can be immense as shown in the above two sketches. On the one hand the WCTU was a biased group, which used frowned upon techniques and espoused what some considered unfeminine behavior, such as petitioning and placarding, in a male dominated society. The other showed the department of education with a temperance philosophy in place, concerned about more immediate difficulties, seeing no obvious grassroots interest in this reform and worried about a WCTU program in the pluralistic society it served. Given these sets of characteristics it is not surprising that the WCTU was unsuccessful in having Scientific Temperance Instruction (STI) in Alberta schools through the 1905-1920 time period. A woman's group, at a time when women did not have the vote and were expected to remain at home, was no match for the professionally educated, male dominated organization that was the department of education.

The WCTU not only recognized the influence and importance of the school in developing temperance sentiment, they both interacted with the school and supplemented the school's activities with "educational programs" of their own. In essay contests, donating books to school libraries, poster competitions, the distribution of temperance blotters, and the visits and talks to schools and school children, the women of the WCTU supplemented the temperance program. Having finally convinced the authorities in 1922 to include an updated temperance program in the revised elementary curriculum the ladies advertised their essay contest in such a way as to fit in with the course outline for temperance. By suggesting the essay contest as an assignment, using the textbooks listed, supplemented by WCTU donations, and assigning topics that used the course of study outline the WCTU was able to make the most of both the school program and their own educational activity. This interaction between the WCTU and the school was an important aspect of educational development and change. It showed a link between what was going on in the school and the outside society. It indicated that the school was not seen as an institution separated from the rest of the society. It underlined the benefits that could be possible if the school and other institutions would work together. Unfortunately in this case the results were less than satisfactory. The lack of interest the schools showed generally, and the ladies' small numbers and often less than enthusiastic response to school matters meant that the temperance course convinced few that alcohol was a poison, dangerous to the health and morals of the society. What is of interest is the fact that the ladies were not overawed by the school and its professional staff, and they thought it quite legitimate to interact and participate in curriculum matters.

This use of the educational institution as an acceptable method of dispersing their ideas was not an isolated instance of employing an institution of the society to further their aims. The whole legislative area, including local option laws, the Direct Legislation Act, the referendum and resulting Liquor Control Act was an example of the WCTU's use of the institution of government to produce their kind of society. The church, through the Sunday School, in particular, was also called upon to help "educate" a temperance sentiment. Through an organized contest, written educational materials and a definite program the women were able to use the church, and the Sunday School teacher, to their own ends. Three institutions, all old and established, and run by men, were considered reasonable conquests by these women. They were making sure that no stone was left unturned in their quest for a sober society.

Despite legislative action, a temperance curriculum, and church support, further educational activity was still considered necessary. Throughout the years and through various departments "education" was taken to the foreigner and the Indian, to the working man and the traveller, to the children and the young adults. The women tried to cover every group, every area, every institution in Alberta with the prohibition message. They realized that other institutions educate, that people learn in a variety of ways from a variety of experiences, and they recognized the limitation of the public school. As a model to explain how to "educate," to change people's minds, to get people to agree with them, their strategy had a great deal of merit. They seemed to understand that the institutions, the organizations, the groups and people within a society were not isolated, but intricate mechanisms that overlapped, interacted and supplemented one another. The problem with the model displayed by the WCTU was that it did not work. Most people did not get the message and temperance sentiment did not become widespread.

The educational program of the WCTU, involving all institutions and organizations in the society, appealing to a variety of peoples, and backed up by some up-to-date methodology and literature appeared on paper to be a workable solution. Once the program was in operation a number of problems appeared, ranging from not enough women to support the many activities and the reticence of some members to be active at all, to the education at a distance and language and cultural problems. The departmental structure was a good organizational strategy and on the drawing board a neat way of enticing members to choose the area of interest to them. It had built-in flaws however. Because members and locals could pick and choose which departments to emphasize some departments were ignored altogether, others worked haphazardly, and little effort was given to the more unpleasant tasks. The departmental organization also created the impression among the women that something was being done and they could sit back. The creation of departments to cover every interest also meant that many departments dealt with benevolent or charitable activities and that work often overlapped with the work of other organizations. The number of departments in itself also made it look as though a great deal was being done, when in reality the number of unions operating any one department was quite small and the number of departments operated by any one union was even smaller.[10]

This small number of women and the few ~~departments~~ operated on a regular basis meant that the numbers of children and adults touched by the educational work of the WCTU was small. Given the great distances, the scattered population, the language and cultural problems, and the lack of a good financial base, it can easily be seen that the educational model proposed would need top-performance by all members in every department to be effective. The lack of positive results should not be surprising.

The youth groups, White Ribboners, Loyal Temperance Legions, the Y and the Sunday School were all examples of the ladies "preaching to the converted." The lack of leaders, the enrollment of children of practising WCTU members, and the difficulty of gaining members in "wet" areas meant that few real conversions were taking place. Working with children in these groups also meant a great deal of hard work, ingenuity and patience was needed to attract the children, devise a suitable program that was both educational and entertaining, and to find proper facilities for its operation.

These same kinds of problems plagued the adult program but they were magnified. The WCTU members were confronted with an adult population that had a lifetime acquaintance with alcohol, that was concerned about any restriction on their freedoms, and that was not in close proximity to the members. The adult program suffered because the people it was designed to convert were numerous, scattered (on Indian reserves, in bloc colonies, in cities, in camps, and in prison), difficult to deal with because of preconceived ideas on freedom and use of alcohol, and because of language and customs that were foreign and incomprehensible to the WCTU ladies. The adult program also suffered because of the small membership of the WCTU, the large number of areas of interest, the lack of financial and human resources, and the tendency of the women not to get personally involved, but to confine their efforts to organizing and financing missionary efforts among adults.

The operation of the "out-of-school" WCTU educational programmes reveals something of the character of the WCTU. First of all, for many of the members this was their first contact with a non-sectarian organization and they brought to it attitudes and experiences gained in church groups, such as the Women's Missionary Societies of the various denominations. In a majority of instances this meant fund raising through bazaars, teas, and sales; it meant collecting items of clothing and household goods to be shipped to the needy; and it meant carrying out the wishes of the ministers and male elders of the church. WCTU women called upon to convert the Indian or the foreigner had only this experience to support their efforts. To have gone outside the organizational and financial role to personally campaign on Indian reserves, in foreign villages and at workingmen's camps would have extended their maternal role beyond their ability and experience. Given the less than radical nature of the members it is not surprising that they stayed within their own boundaries of conduct.

Secondly, their experience with children affected the work they accomplished with youth groups. Women in the home were used to working daily with children, either as individuals or in small groups, and their audience was a captive one. A successful youth group needed a varied clientele, an entertaining program, and a weekly meeting. The leader needed to cope with a large and changing membership, and one that produced problems of language, discipline, and parental conflict. Although time to organize such a program was no doubt a factor in its limited role, the lack of experience of the women in areas outside the home also had to be considerd.

Besides the inadequate educational program offered by the ladies the reasonableness of the goal of attaining a dry society, must also be considered in assessing their affectiveness. Although the name of their organization was the Woman's Christian Temperance Union there was nothing temperate about their attitude toward liquor. They were against even very limited, moderate use and this meant that they had a number of different kinds of oppositions to conquer. Both the Church of England and the Roman Catholic Church scoffed at suggestions that grape juice, unfermented of course, replace sacramental wines in liturgical services. To them it was a tradition that went back to Christ, the Last Supper and the Bible. The ladies' attempts to interpret this as unfermented grape juice came up against the liturgy, and the tradition of these established churches. Even under prohibition law wine for sacramental purposes was exempt.[11] Also exempt during the prohibition years was any alcohol which was prescribed as medicine. Hot buttered rum, a sip of brandy, or a scotch and water were traditional home remedies for a variety of ailments from colds and flu to arthritis. Alcohol was used as an anasthetic under some conditions and as a cleansing agent in others. Doctors prescribed varying amounts of alcohol for numerous illnesses, and many patent medicines contained a percentage of alcohol, some as much as thirty-five to forty percent. The WCTU had a difficult task undercutting the time honored practices of the medical profession and the beliefs of the general public that alcohol was at least a painkiller, if not a cure.[12]

A third group to whom alcohol was very important was the manufacturers, retailers, and distributors. To them and their employees this was their livelihood and any interference in this process was viewed as a danger to their economic interests, and a danger to private enterprise. The industry fought local option campaigns quietly and endeavored to keep out of the limelight "to avoid any publicity or otherwise tempting or tantalizing the total abstinence people ...."[13] When this tactic did not work the brewers were devastated. J.H. Menzies wrote to A.E. Cross, "... I have felt much concerned at the plight this prohibition legislation must have placed the brewery in.... It ought to be impossible in any commercial country to confiscate people's property in this way ...."[14] In a letter to V.M. Drury, A.E. Cross wrote "... Business has not been good since August last, due to the Prohibition and the soldiers being at the front and other war restrictions, and we are not making any money ...."[15] In another letter to J.A. Calder he complained that "under present conditions people are drifting back into the old prohibition days where bad whiskey and boot leggers flourish. In addition to this it is corrupting the medical and druggist professions ...."[16] Unorganized and quiet in the early years the industry led by prominent citizens such as Cross formed the Moderation League, and rallied to their cause all interested in fairness. Cross wrote to Frank J. Clarke in 1923 that "... we shall try and make a very fair, reasonable law, so that the public will be well served and satisfied, with as little abuse as can be avoided and everybody able to make a reasonable revenue."[17] The WCTU had taken on a well established, profitable industry and restricted them for awhile. It is not surprising that their educational program was not a success with the people involved in the business end of the alcohol trade.

Liquor was also governed by cultural traditions. In many cultures alcohol was used in food preparation, as a tonic at the end of a hard day's work, as a way of relaxing with friends, and most importantly as an integral part of festivities and celebrations. Wakes, christenings, weddings and holidays were important links with the cultures and traditions of the old country and beer, wine, and liquor were a necessary part of the festivities. To eliminate them from the celebrations would be to change the atmosphere of the ceremonies. Cultural traditions were hard to break, particularly ones regarding food and drink. The resistance to prohibition in foreign communities remained despite the attempts by WCTU and other prohibition types to break it down.

The use of liquor or alcohol was also a class tradition. Generally prohibitionists worked to educate the working man to abstain from its use and vote for its abolition. The bars and saloons, the weekend binge, the drunk in the streets were associated with the lower class, with miners and lumbermen and laborers, using their wages to wile away an evening or a day off. These were the types the WCTU wanted to convert, and did not. But there was also the opposite end of the class scale - the upper class, the leaders, the well-heeled members of the society. To many of them drink was also a part of their way of life. A toast at a business meeting or banquet, a cocktail at a reception, a beer during a meal with friends or partners were ways of breaking the ice, lightening the atmosphere, and concluding a business deal. To some sipping a brandy or a fine wine was a pleasant activity - in the same class as good food or fine music or classical entertainment. To cut it out would be to lower the quality of life.[18]

Last but not least was the whole body of confessional and orthodox Christians, members of the Anglican, Roman Catholic, Greek, Russian, and some Lutheran churches. This group generally was a little more amorphous than some of the others discussed. Traditionally the hierarchy of these churches and the practising members were not abstainers, and did not believe in total prohibition. Their support for the Banish the Bar movement was weak. In an address Reverend J.H. Assitor of the Church of England summarized the attitude of the whole church toward prohibition as weak. "There has not been a united stand," he said. The policy of the church "has been one of defense rather than aggression, there has been too much apathy, if not indifference," he concluded.[19] The members of these churches had contradictory opinions concerning total abstinence, and according to one editor "... some perhaps will always assert that the only remedy is to preach the Gospel faithfully and to bring its teaching of purity and sobriety home to our flock."[20] Although opinion was not unanimous among members, a goodly number remained against coercion and these churches did not take the lead in denouncing alcohol as evil.

The task, therefore, confronting the women, was monumental. The numbers in support of the right of citizens to drink were many and varied. They came from established professions and churches, from a profitable industry, and from all areas of the society. The WCTU members, on the other hand, were few in number (1500 was the highest yearly membership total), mostly middle-class and evangelical protestants, generally homemakers, and obviously women - in reality a fringe group of the society. Their goal was a rigid one, allowing for no compromise. In the end this was an imbalance that could not be overcome, despite a faith in education, a knowledge of the most up-to-date scientific figures, literature, and methodology, and an understanding of the interrelationship between the public school and other "educational" agencies. A dry society was unacceptable in principle and in practise to many; the reasoning behind the need for one questionable; and the vehicle used to accomplish it hampered by language, inconsistency, lack of funds, and few able practitioners.

If, as has been suggested, the educational aspect of WCTU work had little impact in the first two decades of the century, how does one account for the prohibition victory in the 1915 plebiscite? Under the Direct Legislation Act the government, hoping to escape unscathed from a controversial issue, allowed the people to decide on a Prohibition policy. The affirmative vote brought the Liquor Act into force July 1, 1916 which forbade the sale of liquor within the province except for medical, sacramental or industrial purposes. Liquor could, however, be imported. Of the fifty-three ridings in the province thirty-seven had voted dry.[21] Unlike the United States which ratified Prohibition in 1919, having had temperance courses, textbooks, and examinations - a WCTU program, in the schools, the Alberta WCTU had not been successful in this regard. Yet the prohibition measure passed with a substantial majority. One answer could be that prohibition had been voted into law by a people convinced that they had to make a personal sacrifice for the war effort. Many people, who had not been persuaded by social, moral and religious reasons that prohibition was a necessity, were convinced by patriotic arguments. The country needed the wheat, the manpower hours, and the energy that went into alcohol manufacture, sale and consumption. Prohibitionist groups appealed to the spirit of patriotism and self-sacrifice. Alcohol abuses were evident at a time when sobriety was essential. Prohibition was viewed as a measure to conserve and protect a society in crisis. As one prohibitionist pamphlet put it: "Are We To Do Our Duty by the Empire, Or Are We To Neglect It? ... The Bar or the War? That is the Question of the Hour."[22] The answer, of course, was never in doubt by a people schooled in imperial loyalties.

Historian Arthur Lower reflected: "At the turn of the century the Canadian public school was not making young Canadians but young Englishmen. It is not surprising that fourteen years later those boys rushed off across the seas to fight for a country they had never seen - to fight as perhaps men had never fought before."[23] Lower's thesis that the public school in Canada promoted imperialism has been the subject of some historical study and it does provide an answer to those who ask why Albertans, and Canadians generally, voted for prohibition. As Governor General Earl Grey told an audience of school cadets in Toronto in 1909: "... the British Empire stands out before the whole world as the fearless champion of freedom, fair play and equal rights; that its watchwords are responsibility, duty, sympathy and self-sacrifice; and that a special responsibility rests with you individually to be true to the traditions and to the mission of your race."[24] By appealing to economic arguments, by suggesting patriotic reasons, by exhorting the need to conserve, sacrifice and be responsible, the prohibitionists convinced a people schooled in British sentiment that temperance was necessary if Canadians were to do their part in preserving those virtues the British Empire stood for. The public school probably did make a difference to the outcome of the prohibition vote, but it was imperial sentiment rather than temperance instruction which made the difference.[25]

Connected with the war argument also was the influx of immigrants, particularly non-English speaking ones from central and eastern Europe who aroused suspicions in the minds of their Anglo-Saxon neighbours. These foreigners, more than any other group, were associated with the love of alcohol, beer and wine, particularly for celebrations. E.H.

Oliver, a prominent educator in the early west summarized the feelings of many: "Their presence is a menace in this land because they contribute to the paganizing of life. Their standards of sanitation, of education, in some cases even of commercial honesty are not ours. Some, too many of them, have an easy conscience in the matter of home brew. Their womenfolk have sometimes been little more than chattels, useful for child-bearing and, in case of disease, only too easily replaced. They prove frequently a prey to Bolshevistic emissaries and sectarian propagandists." Concerned because of "their inability, sometimes even unwillingness to assume the implications of Canadian citizenship" many people felt them a threat to the future of Canada.[26] The vote in favor of prohibition could also have been a protest vote against beer loving foreigners who did not fully comprehend the implications of Canadian and Imperial loyalties. The presence of large numbers of foreign-speaking immigrants certainly did not take away from, and probably increased, the prohibition vote at a time when a freedom loving people thought their way of life to be at stake.

The defeat of the war-time prohibition measure by the 1923 referendum was also an indication that the sentiment favoring a restriction on alcoholic beverages had been an artificial one, an expedient way of conserving foodstuffs and creating an orderly society. The referendum, which allowed voters to choose between prohibition, the licensed sale of beer, the government sale of beer and the government sale of all liquors, saw the fourth option advocated by as many districts as had advocated prohibition in 1915.[27] Such a complete turn around in the eight years would indicate that the reasons people voted for prohibition in 1915 had disappeared or were no longer as important in 1923. The fact that the war was over and society returned to normal affected the outcome of the vote. The people in 1915 had not been convinced by moral, religious, and scientific arguments that prohibition was necessary. So when the immediate cause of the earlier result was removed there were not enough reasons left to retain the Liquor Control Act of 1916. This coupled with the optimism prevalent after the war, the maturation of the pioneer society, and the changed standards or values acceptable to many in the twenties, meant that prohibition had outlived its usefulness.

The government control referendum in 1923 also came too soon for any curriculum endeavors to have made an impact. The delay the WCTU experienced in achieving reform of the temperance program in the schools and the difficulty it experienced in operating viably in informal educational areas meant that the youth and identifiable adult groups had not been exposed to temperance education in time to have an effect on the government control bill. Despite the WCTU's belief in education as a means of enlightenment, uplift, and reform, both the prohibition victory in 1915 and its defeat in 1923 revealed that reform occurred without much direct input from temperance educational programs. Changes that affected the whole society seemed to have been made without benefit of either public school contribution to the debate or WCTU backed informal educational arrangements. In this case at least structured educational offerings via the public school, Sunday Schools, youth groups and adult departments were not a major factor in social change.

The school did, however, introduce a required course with textbooks and an examination in temperance and hygiene in the 1920's. It was too late to influence either the 1915 prohibition vote or the 1923 government control vote. Despite the best efforts of the WCTU women, the department of education took no action to strengthen its alcohol related hygiene course throughout the pioneer years, times of rapid immigration and the prohibition and war years. Yet just as prohibition ended the department opted to bring in the requests the WCTU had been agitating for since 1905. A number of reasons can be suggested for this development: the department of education had other, more important problems with which to deal, such as a teacher shortage and an influx of non-English speaking children; the existing temperance course satisfied the department's philosophy of schooling; alcohol related activities were considered a private matter by many and the school was reluctant to become involved; the department received requests to improve the course from relatively few people or groups and interpreted this to mean the public was not interested; and changing programs and textbooks was expensive and time-consuming for a relatively new department.

By the 1920's however the attitude toward temperance had changed. Prohibition had been the law of Alberta for five years when the United Farmers of Alberta (UFA) formed the Government. Since farmers and rural residents generally had been supporters of prohibition,[28] and since the UFA took over the reins of government in the midst of a review of the elementary school curriculum begun under the Liberal regime, the time was propitious for an upgraded temperance course for the schools.[29] In addition the entreaties by the WCTU over the years meant that programs, textbooks, and rationale were already on file. Since prohibition was the law of Alberta, a compulsory course with a textbook and an examination would support this law. The school rather than being the precipitor of change was in fact a follower of change. It adjusted its program to that of the altered views in the society. The farmer government sympathetic to these views, with the implementation road already paved via the WCTU efforts and the elementary curriculum review, had only to give assent and courses, programs of study, textbooks, teacher training approaches and examinations in temperance became the rule. The WCTU requests were finally in place in the school curriculum.

It is difficult to really assess the effect of the temperance program that was offered in the 1920's. Curriculum manuals of the thirties in mentioning temperance indicated that the professional educator and curriculum makers in Alberta were not convinced of the worth of the WCTU methodology or endorsed textbooks. The 1935 Program's plea for the "method of indirection" in teaching alcohol and the advice to teachers to be careful in those unfortunate cases "where home and school did not agree" indicated some of the problems surrounding a school offering in this area.[30] Another reason that may have effected the efficacy of the program was the abolition of prohibition in 1923 and the institution of government control.[31] Here we have one government department which approved and sold alcoholic beverages, and another which instructed its clientele, the students, that the use of alcoholic beverages caused immorality, poverty, and ill health, and was an economic waste to the country, as well as the individual. The problem of methodology, the one-sided content, the contradictory emphases of two departments of the same government, plus the fact that some teachers and other educational professionals drank moderately made the temperance course in the school program somewhat embarrassing and therefore easy to ignore.

However, the problem with a more positive evaluation is a twofold one. First of all once government control was instituted there were no more province-wide votes held on the subject. Government control of alcohol licenses and sale has remained to the present. The program certainly was not successful enough to cause a groundswell to change the system. But without a plebiscite it is difficult to tell if individual opinions might have benefitted from the program. The second possibility would be to look at the consumption of alcohol in Alberta. The problem that this posed was the onset of the depression and the dust storms in Alberta in the thirties meant that little money was available for alcohol purchase. Sales of liquor plummeted, of course, but without further evidence it would have been listed as an economic determination rather than the result of temperance education. Once the recession receded and the war was over alcohol sales, outlets and licenses began to increase at a rate faster than the population growth.[32] These results, along with a seeming lack of interest in the school temperance program, would indicate that it was unsuccessful in creating a dry sentiment throughout the province.

Some of this lack of success can be attributed to the fact that the WCTU temperance program in the 1920's was out of date. Developed much earlier for use in the United States, it had reached its climax in the very early years of this century through the efforts of Mrs. Mary Hunt. By the time the department of education finally approved the program in 1923 much had changed. The war was over, and the province, no longer a pioneer society, had matured. The abuses so noticeable before prohibition were not in evidence and sacrifice was no longer required by patriotic citizens. The government control bill easily replaced prohibition. Probably neither prohibition nor the WCTU had much influence or changed any attitudes. Certainly the number of permits, the consumption rates and the amount of revenue to the province from alcohol sales increased each year until the onset of the depression.[33] Although in the short term prohibition affected a drop in alcohol related convictions, in the long run the outcome probably would have been the same. The influence of an expanding economy would have modified the drinking practices of a pioneer society. The evolution of communities, with educational, cultural and recreational activities; more settled family patterns; and the cohesion of a society assimilating common values and identifying common goals occurred over the "prohibition decade." Although the decrease in convictions for drunkenness was dramatic in the first years of prohibition, and it did not return to those levels after prohibition was over, an increase in convictions under the Liquor Control Act occurred over the same period.[34] This would indicate interest in getting around the law rather than any change in attitude. Prohibition, by eliminating saloons and open drinking, broke the drinking patterns of the pioneer age. Alcohol consumption became a "civilized" activity. The WCTU refused to compromise and adjust to the changing times. They won the battle, but lost the war. Long after alcohol had been accepted by a post-war, changing Albertan society, the WCTU was still talking about a new prohibition era. They had developed tunnel vision and the goal of a completely dry society "with improved legislation at a date not far distant," supported by "an intelligent sentiment in favor of Total Abstinence" and this the "result of Education," remained their dream.[35]

That the department of education was willing to adopt this program at the time it did also needs some explanation. There are two factors to be considered, one political and the other, educational. The farmer government which came to power in 1921 had a pro-temperance strain. The Farmers' Platform, drafted by the Canadian Council of Agriculture in 1919 and updated in 1921 included the following: "Prohibition of the Manufacture, importation and sale of intoxicating liquors as beverages in Canada."[36] Prohibition, part of the general reform movement espoused by the Progressives, had been part of the UFA platform for years. The 1915 vote results showed that "the "dry" ridings were largely from the rural, grain-growing districts of southern and eastern Alberta." This, along with the fact that the United Farm Women of Alberta (UFWA) supported temperance education, and that one of the groups to appear before the curriculum committee on the elementary program was the WCTU with its request for temperance schooling would mean that the farmer government would be naturally disposed to this kind of a curriculum change. That the program was behind the times may have escaped their notice. Prohibition was the law and the school system needed to step in line and offer a program to support that law. That the public was increasingly hostile to prohibition, and that the abuses under the system were rising and the Social Service League complaining that the Liquor Act was not being enforced went unnoticed by the farmers.[37]

The second explanation for adopting an outdated program has to do with the nature of a public educational system. The public school as an institution of the society tends to be a conservative element - a force that follows rather than leads public opinion. Reforms to the system often come from outside, and when pushed by educators themselves, it is because that is the direction taken elsewhere. This conservative element, and the adoption of trends developed elsewhere has meant a delay in the introduction of new ideas. R.S. Patterson has argued that progressive education in Alberta and Saskatchewan was a selective adoption of American ideas at a time when these ideas were losing their appeal in the United States.[38] This same argument would explain temperance education. By selectively adopting the U.S. based WCTU program in the twenties, twenty-five years after its development, the educational system in Alberta was out of touch with both the program and the reasons it had been formulated.

In summary, then, a number of factors explain the introduction of temperance education as prohibition was ending. In the first place educational reform was often notoriously slow, for the government needed to be convinced that change had widespread appeal. Second, the UFA which came to power in 1921 had indicated support for prohibition during the election campaign. The educational system was one way of showing that support. Third, the campaign by the WCTU to effect a school program had been a long one and had paved the way for the new program. Fourth, the 1922 Committee on the Elementary School Curriculum had representatives from various levels of the society and it invited briefs from interested groups. One group which responded was the WCTU, in the person of Louise McKinney, a rural based woman, former MLA, representative of the non-partisan elements and an eloquent spokesman. Her appeal to protect women, children and family life was synonymous with the interests of the UFA who had actively encouraged the UFWA and particularly their educational concerns. Perhaps also since a curriculum revision was underway a change in temperance could be introduced as part of an overall change. In the final analysis a sympathetic government, a well planned program with textbooks available, and a public opinion sentiment in favor of the ideas the program would stress appeared to be the ingredients necessary to make an educational change.

The curriculum change in the schools was not the only positive educational result during the twenties for the WCTU. The Sunday School program, like STI in the public schools, also increased in size and in intensity. The adoption by the evangelical churches and endorsement by the Religious Education Council of Canada, of the WCTU's nationwide educational competitions and the inclusion in The Canadian Girl and The Canadian Boy, United Church publications, of six temperance lessons in their weekly October and November editions were indications of increased educational interest. This development coming as it did, after the defeat of prohibition and the adoption of government control suggests similar forces at work with Sunday School leaders as with department of education officials. Although the churches had held total abstinence views they may not have believed it necessary to "teach" these views to their own members. Perhaps more importantly the social gospel influence which directed the churches away from exclusive concern for doctrinal matters and toward a concern for the causes of poverty and despair had finally reached into the Sunday School. Although the social gospel movement was in its decline by the latter part of the twenties the Sunday School may have reacted to change as the public school did - getting involved as the movement was declining. Perhaps, also, public and governmental acceptance of alcohol caused church elders to fear an erosion of the church's abstinence principles if they were not reinforced in the next generation.

This look at the WCTU in Alberta, 1905-1930, then, has provided commentary on the role of education in societal change. It also suggests that reasons for the success or failure of a group like the WCTU to attain its goal are related to factors in the structure of the particular organization; to the government's existing policy orientation; to the extent of the conformity of the interests of the group to the needs of the society; and to the resources, both economical and political, that they are able to bring to bear on the particular issue. For example, the government's fear of defeat if it either listened to prohibitionists, or if it turned a blind eye to their requests resulted in the Direct Legislation Act which set up the mechanism to allow a referendum on the Liquor Question in 1915. This same legislation also permitted a vote in 1923 on government control. The policy of the government to let the people decide, irrespective of party affiliation, meant success in the first instance, failure in the second. The reaction of the WCTU to the proposed referendum in 1923 shows very little understanding of the democratic process that allowed plebiscites and referenda. They complained that another vote was unnecessary; that once the people had decided a decision should stand; they wrote letters to the government requesting that the vote not be held because of the expense involved. Yet they had not been concerned about the expense in 1915 when they thought they could win. The letters in 1922 and 1923, although not made explicit, underscored the union's concern about the outcome.[39]

The structure of the WCTU also led to long-range failure because the organizational framework meant that the ladies of the local unions chose the areas in which to concentrate their efforts. Many locals had less than fifteen active members, some departments were ignored, and those that were selected often had very few members who were interested. But because the annual convention reported for the whole province there was usually something to review for each department. This created an illusion of accomplishment, even though in reality the actual results were few and far between. This structure which allowed the individual unions to select their own departments also tended to reinforce the domestic role of the organization. Many women naturally chose to concentrate their efforts in areas that were familiar to them, thus precluding active involvement in areas that were outside the traditional purview of women. This effected not only their accomplishments as temperance workers, but also their own growth in areas beyond the domestic hearth.

Perhaps the most decisive factor in the failure of this group to achieve its long range goals was the divergence between their overriding interests, and the concerns of the society. There is no doubt that the Albertan society in the early years had some severe social problems, many of which could be attributed to drink. Poverty, slums, unemployment, and the misery of many women and children were in some cases the result of the overuse of alcohol. As L.G. Thomas pointed out: "There was heavy drinking everywhere and some of the bars and hotels seem to have been scandously mismanaged. That liquor licenses and hotel keepers played a part in politics few doubted. It is the inalienable right of the publican to influence the political views of his customers." However, many worried that contributions to party funds, and bribing officers of the law should not be condoned. Somehow episodes of political patronage and bribery were regarded as proof of the evils of liquor rather than the fallibility of humans. Prohibition would remove the occasion of sin; it would be a short cut to social peace; it, in effect, would provide a liquor free paradise.[40] Not everyone agreed with this notion, but in 1915, in the middle of the war, using economic and patriotic arguments the ideas of the WCTU were one with those of the people. And they experienced success. It was short-lived, however, and with the removal of the patriotic sanction, the growth in the problems of enforcement, and the return of the soldiers, the real divergence between the beliefs of the ladies and the wishes of society became apparent.

The very few beneficial resources that the WCTU possessed were also a factor in their lack of success. Their small membership, their lack of access to government officials, their inexperience in both the workforce and in politics, and their meager financial resources stood them in poor stead. As well, prestige, cohesiveness, and political efficacy were lacking in a group with maternal goals and primarily domestic experience. The belief that they could influence the system, that they did have a meaningful role in politics was gradually eroded as events taught them that men voted in their own interests, and those seldom were synonymous with the ladies' maternal cares. This led them to campaign for the right to vote and therefore to be able to directly influence events. Again they were disappointed. The extension of the franchise to women did not strengthen their sense of being able to influence the system, and their disappointment was intense when they realized that many newly-enfranchised women voted against WCTU goals.

The WCTU was one of the first, non-sectarian organizations of and for women. At the turn of the century society was becoming increasingly complex, the values dear to middle-class, Anglo-Saxon women - the values of patience, sobriety, morality and sensitivity - seemed to be losing ground as the society industrialized and urbanized and as immigration made its impact on Alberta. Concerned about the effects this changing society would have on the home and children, the real domain of the women of the WCTU, they began to search for ways to preserve the tranquillity of the home and the society. Their evangelistic beliefs, the all too visible saloon, and the stories of homes ruined by an alcoholic father or husband caused them to concentrate their reform efforts on the elimination of all liquor from the society. Since governments and politicians were slow to act on the suggestions of the ladies, and since they sincerely believed that they had a right and a duty to protect the home and the children they became a public force in the community. Women who had consistently tended the home fires, left the social and political decisions to the men, and if inclined to do something, generally became involved in benevolent and charitable activities associated with the churches, entered into the public sphere, into what to that time had been the affairs of men. Although prohibition was their main concern, they extended their interests to other areas, specifically the extension of the suffrage, social welfare legislation and education when they realized that the men in power did not understand their problems, and were not as concerned about the direction in which the society was headed as they were.

What is interesting about the WCTU is that it was an organization that wanted to prevent change, that wished to keep the society and the world as they knew it. Yet they themselves were an example of change - a group of women who ventured into the public sphere when the role of women was to be the center of domestic life. Further, to accomplish the stability they yearned for they advocated other changes - female suffrage, prohibition legislation, Scientific Temperance Instruction, and laws concerned with prostitution, mothers' allowances, child welfare and the use of the English language. What they failed to realize was that these changes would direct the society irrevocably away from the simple, moral way of life depicted by the small village. What they also failed to realize was that these changes, and the role they played in them would eventually lead women away from domesticity as their only role, lead women into the area of individual freedom and the search for equality with men in the society. They were themselves not feminists. But it is probably fair to say that they were the precursors of today's new woman. They not only made it legitimate for women to become active in temporal affairs, but they made it possible by fighting for female suffrage, the Dower Act, female judges, women matrons in prisons, and other family and social reform legislation.

In theory then, the WCTU opened doors for women, made it acceptable for women to leave the domestic hearth in pursuit of measures to strengthen the home and to make the society a better place in which to bring up children. It helped pass legislation which gave women an equal vote with men, allowed her to run for political office, and gave her rights to the familial home and family assets. It gave the women experience in organization, presiding over meetings, planning budgets, and carrying plans of attack through to their fruition. In theory then, women should have been been able to participate in the world of work.

In actual fact, after the first heady years of victory after both the prohibition and suffrage campaigns, women returned to their homes, and resumed life at the center of the domestic hearth. Except in exceptional circumstances the involvement of women in temporal affairs returned to what it had been before the WCTU became active.

This study suggests three reasons why, despite legislation and temporal experience, women's role remained a maternal one. In the first place the women themselves were not looking for equality. They were Christian women, and as such were content with the two spheres of activity for the sexes - woman as wife and mother, man as the breadwinner. They did not wish to disturb this time honored concept, and ventured out of the home only to preserve their vision of the ideal world. Infused by this Christian idealism, convinced that they had both the right and the responsibility to preserve their own idea of a moral world, they made inroads into the world outside the home only to provide a service, only to try and protect innocent women and children. When this goal had been achieved, as in prohibition in 1916; or when the society itself stabilized, as it did in the twenties after the war was concluded and the pioneer society had matured, they stepped back into the home content to concentrate on their duties to husband and children. This first generation of women, for the most part, had not realized the extent of the social changes that they helped sponsor.

A second factor to be considered is the nature of the WCTU organization and the way it was perceived by the society generally. The self-righteous belief that their views were socially and morally superior to other views, the use of coercion as a weapon, the attitude toward the foreigner, particularly the non-English speaking one, and the tactics they used evoked a considerable amount of antipathy and scorn. A lack of sympathy for their goals and their accomplishments resulted in an attitude that affected their ability to achieve in the temporal sphere. Some of the first women to be active outside the home also had an effect on the way women were viewed. Louise McKinney's use of her position as a Member of the Legislative Assembly to actively lobby for prohibition; her attitude that temperance and prohibition were the same thing; and her long standing association with an organization that was looked at with derision negated her fine abilities as a public speaker, parliamentarian, and hard worker. The appointment of Emily Murphy to a judgeship when she had neither the experience nor the education of her fellow male judges hampered the acceptance of women. The fact that she was closely allied with the prohibition cause did not help either.[41] Nellie McClung, also a temperance worker and an MLA in later years was scorned by reporters and others in her audience because she had left five children at home.[42] Comments such as: "They passed Prohibition to get rid of Nellie McClung"[43] and "Oh, we never could have had Mrs. Murphy in the Senate! She would have caused too much trouble!" were indications of the unpopularity of the women and of their most obvious cause, prohibition.[44] Their commitment to an unpopular cause and their association with the notorious WCTU meant they had more enemies than friends and convinced many, men and women alike, that women had no business outside the home.

A third reason to be considered in the slow development of the feminist cause after the first years is the idea that real social change takes a while to effect. Neil Sutherland has argued that despite changes made in the ways some Canadians brought up their youngsters and despite policy changes to this effect, these practises did not become the norm for a few decades.[45] The growth of the temperance movement itself is an example of the necessity of the time factor in the social change equation. The institutions of the society, the public school, the church, the family, and the government are conservative forces and slow to alter their views and practices. It would be some time before the society, generally, including the women themselves, would see women's role as other than a maternal one.

The relationship between educational and social change, and between educational and social change and the WCTU is both ambiguous and ambivalent. On the one hand educational reform is a part of the larger attempt at social reform, but it does not seem to be a necessary part of that reform. For example, prohibition occurred without school input to the question, as did the extension of the franchise to women. In neither case was the public school involved with these movements through courses in the curriculum, or special days set aside, or any policy decision in favor of either reform. Likewise, concerted efforts at affecting change through other institutions and groups in the society also had less than total success. The particular groups appealed to, the Indian, the foreigner, the workingmen and the youth did not contribute to the positive prohibition vote. The attainment of the suffrage did not involve the women in an educational campaign. With signatures on a petition and support from the United Farmers of Alberta the request for the vote for women was a direct appeal to the government.

And yet one would have to question school impact on prohibition because of the hidden curriculum of imperialism. The policy of schools to promote Britain and the Empire in the selections in the reader, in the celebration of Empire Day, and the physical attributes and the conduct of the school helped the Prohibition vote in 1915. But this use of the school to effect social change occurred without any change in educational policy. The policy change that did take place, to include temperance instruction in the schools, occurred in the 1920's and its obvious effects were negative. What this seems to suggest is that individual course changes in the curriculum do not have much effect on social change. What is important is the general overall direction of the school, the values the school promotes in its day-to-day operation, and the view of society inculcated by the school's curriculum, teachers, administrators, and policies. When the WCTU was able to use one of the dominant thrusts of the society, and of the school, imperialism, to further its goals it had success.

A second example of the role of education in social reform is the extension of the suffrage to women. This reform occurred without any school input, but of even more importance is the fact that a perusal of school texts after 1916 showed no change in the attitude toward women. Although the vote was extended to women, society seemed to view this as an isolated change, not the beginning of a social revolution that would extend women's rights equal to those of the male sex. The women themselves did not view it as such, the Persons Case had to be taken all the way to the Privy Council in England, and very few women were found in business, the professions or politics. The school reflected society's attitude in not promoting female equality.

The role of the WCTU in the area of educational and social reform is also quixotic. The input of the WCTU to prohibition was great. It rallied the troops, produced literature, acquired thousands of signatures for the petition, and pushed the economic and patriotic argument. It has to be given a great deal of credit for the vote of 1915. Yet this same group was unable to produce such results in 1923. It can be argued that the WCTU and the people were of one mind in 1915 in the midst of war. In 1923 when the war was over, the status of the WCTU as well as the social concerns surrounding alcohol had changed. The WCTU was no longer in tune with the general tone of the society. They were then ineffective.

In summary, then, the WCTU was a fairly active reform organization in the first two decades of Alberta's history. It represented a small group of Anglo-Saxon, evangelical, women of the middle class, members of the temperance movement who believed they could change the direction of the society through education. Despite a positive role in the Prohibition plebiscite, the suffrage petition and the upgraded scientific temperance program for the schools the WCTU experienced failure. Prohibition was defeated in 1923, the extension of the suffrage to women did not help the cause, and the STI program was ineffective and eventually dropped from the school curriculum. They had failed to obtain a permanently dry society. They did, however, open the doors of the temporal society to women and they played an active role in Alberta during its crucial development years, agitating for fairer laws and treatment for women and children as well as for prohibition. In the final analysis the impact of the organization was not in the intended area of creating a dry society and preserving their own view of life, but in legitimizing the right of women to influence temporal events, and in paving the way for the eventual acceptance of women outside the home, particularly in those areas like education, child welfare, social service, that could be viewed as an extension of the traditional maternal role.

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER 7

[1] Wendy Mitchinson, "The WCTU: 'For God, Home and Native Land': A Study in Nineteenth-Century Feminism," in Linda Kealey (ed.), A Not Unreasonable Claim: Women and Reform in Canada, 1880-1920. Toronto: Women's Educational Press, 1977. See also Mitchinson's thesis, "Aspects of Reform: Four Women's Organizations in Nineteenth Century Canada," Ph.D. thesis, University of Toronto, 1977.

[2] L.J. Wilson, "Educational Role of the United Farm Women of Alberta," in David C. Jones, et al. (eds.), Shaping the Schools of the Canadian West. Calgary: Detselig Enterprises Ltd., 1979, pp. 124-135. See also Wilson's thesis, "The Educational Objectives and Activities of the United Farmers of Alberta and the Saskatchewan Grain Growers' Association, 1920-1930," Ph.D. thesis, University of Alberta, 1975.

[3] Neil Sutherland, "Introduction," in Paul H. Mattingly and Michael B. Katz (eds.), Education and Social Change: Themes from Ontario's Past. New York: New York University Press, 1975, p. XII.

[4] Interview with D.H. Galbraith by Una MacLean Evans, 1962. Glenbow Archives Tape Collection.

[5] In the early years of the Canadian organization Letitia Youmans was very hesitant to speak out in public, as this was not woman's role. Many agreed to do so only to protect the home and family. In reality they were not true feminists in today's terms.

[6] Wendy Mitchinson quoted the president of the Nova Scotia union: "Without the ballot we are working with our strong right hand tied behind our back." They could not rely on men to represent them, as men had not responded to their demands. Mitchinson, "Aspects of Reform," pp. 213-214.

[7] See Catherine L. Cleverdon, The Woman Suffrage Movement in Canada. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1950, Appendix A, pp. 267-283 for an account of women's use of the vote and their perception that politics was a man's game, and that "Canadian men regard career women and women in politics with dark suspicion." See also Charlotte Whitten, "Is the Canadian Woman a Flop in Politics? Saturday Night, Jan. 1946.

[8] Quoted in White Ribbon Tidings, Jan. 15, 1906.

[9] Some of the texts, e.g. Cora Stoddard, Alcohol in Experience and Experiment and Ritchie and Caldwell, Physiology and Hygiene for Public Schools talked about the advantages of abstinence. Others, although not directly advocating total abstinence, used shock and scare tactics so

that a child could be easily convinced of the dangers. These were hardly temperate texts.

[10] The superintendent of the department of Scientific Temperance Instruction (STI) complained that only twenty locals operated STI, and yet that was considered an important work of the WCTU. The average union had a membership of approximately fifteen to twenty women, although some were as small as six, and at least one as large as fifty. A group of twenty women would have to be very efficient to be able to run five or six of the twenty-four listed departments.

[11] The WCTU elsewhere had a department for unfermented wine, but the Alberta organization did not start one. The clergy in the evangelistic churches substituted grape juice, when necessary, and the ladies tried to find biblical passages which backed up their beliefs.

[12] There is a large body of literature available on the medical use of alcohol during prohibition. Doctors were limited by the amount they could prescribe in any one month. It was generally felt, at least by prohibitioners, that the medical people exceeded this limit. The Calgary Brewing and Malting Co. papers indicated the difficulty doctors found themselves in because of the prohibition law.

[13] Letter from James Weir to A.E. Cross, Aug. 29, 1909. Calgary Brewing and Malting Co. Papers, Box 62, File 492, Glenbow (hereafter C B and M Co., B6, F492).

[14] Letter from J.H. Menzies to A.E. Cross, May 8, 1916. C B and M Co., B7, F561.

[15] Letter from A.E. Cross to V.M. Drury, Nov. 29, 1918. C B and M Co., B75, F589.

[16] Letter from A.E. Cross to J.A. Calder, April 12, 1919. C B and M Co., B76, F591.

[17] Letter from A.E. Cross to Frank J. Clarke, Esq., Nov. 9, 1923. C B and M Co., B83, F650.

[18] Good wine and liquor were also examples of class. The wealthiest Calgarians had wine cellars in their homes, and the Ranchman's Club with its exclusive membership, its sizable fees, and "a bar that ordered ten-year-old Scotch directly from Edinburgh" were examples of the alcoholic tastes and status of the upper classes. See Paul Voisey, "In Search of Wealth and Status: An Economic and Social Study of Entrepreneurs in Early Calgary," in A.W. Rasporich and Henry Klassen (eds.), Frontier Calgary, 1975-1914. Calgary: McClelland Stewart West, 1975, p. 236, and Henry C. Klassen, "Life in Frontier Calgary," in A.W. Rasporich, Western Canada Past and Present. Calgary: McClelland Stewart West, 1975, p. 45.

[19] Saskatchewan Monthly Magazine (Diocese of Saskatchewan, Church of England) Vol. IX, No. 3, 1914, pp. XIV-XVI. 112, File 1, Archives of Saskatchewan.

[20] IBID, Vol. IX, No. 7, 1914, p. XVI. 112, File 1, A/S.

[21] Results of the Prohibition Referendum, July 21, 1915, and R.A. McLean, "A Most Effectual Remedy: Temperance and Prohibition in Alberta, 1875-1915," M.A. thesis, University of Calgary, 1969.

[22] Robert Craig Brown and Ramsay Cook, Canada 1896-1921; A Nation Transformed. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974, p. 300.

[23] Arthur Lower, Canadians in the Making. Toronto: Longmans, 1958, pp. 349-352.

[24] The Toronto Globe, May 22, 1909, Quoted in Robert M. Stamp, "Empire Day in the Schools of Ontario: The Training of Young Imperialists," in Journal of Canadian Studies, Aug. 1973, Vol. VIII, No. 3.

[25] For insight into the imperialist sentiment in Canadian and Albertan schools see Robert M. Stamp, "Empire Day in the Schools of Ontario"; N.G. McDonald, "David J. Goggin: Promoter of National Schools," in R.S. Patterson, et al. (eds.), Profiles of Canadian Educators. Toronto: D.C. Heath, 1974; and A. Chaiton and N.G. McDonald, Canadian Schools and Canadian Identity. Toronto: Gage, 1977.

[26] E.H. Oliver, The Winning of the Frontier. Toronto: United Church Publishing House, 1930, p. 233.

[27] Results of the Prohibition Referendum, 1915, and the Statement of Votes Polled, Liquor Plebiscite, 1923. See Appendices 2 and 4.

[28] The United Farmers of Alberta (UFA), United Farm Women of Alberta (UFWA), Saskatchewan Grain Growers (SGG), and its Women's Section, the Farm and Ranch Review and the Grain Growers' Guide supported prohibition. The farmer generally, was unhappy with the urbanization trend and associated cities with saloons, bars and houses of prostitution. If they could get rid of these urban outlets for crime a return to a simple, rural existence for the country could be possible. The wheat farming areas in Alberta voted "dry" in 1915.

[29] Begun in 1919 under the chairmanship of G. Fred McNally it continued when the government changed hands. Its findings were implemented in 1922.

[30] Programme of Studies for the Intermediate School, Grades VII, VIII, and IX, 1935. Edmonton: King's Printer, 1935, p. 8.

[31] The 1923 plebiscite indicating a majority in favor of government control resulted in the creation of the Alberta Liquor Control Board which came into existence May 1, 1924.

[32] Actual consumption rates are not available, but the sales figures in gallons for each year by category of wine, beer and liquor are found in the Annual Reports of the Alberta Liquor Control Board.

[33] Annual Reports of the Alberta Liquor Control Board, 1925-1930.

[34] See *Annual Reports on Statistics of Criminal and Other Offences*. Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1913-1930; *Annual Reports of the Alberta Liquor Control Board*, 1925-1930; *Pamphlet*, Calgary Prohibition Committee, Acc. 69.289, F207, PAA; and *Searchlight Bulletin*, April, 1923.

[35] Annual Report of the Alberta Woman's Christian Temperance Union, 1929, p. 42 (hereafter Alta. WCTU *AR*, 1929, p. 42).

[36] W.L. Morton, *The Progressive Party in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1950, p. 305.

[37] L.G. Thomas, *The Liberal Party in Alberta: A History of Politics in the Province of Alberta, 1905-1921*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959, p. 161.

[38] R.S. Patterson, "Progressive Education: Impetus to Educational Change in Alberta and Saskatchewan." A paper presented at the 12th Annual *Western Canadian Studies Conference*, Calgary, Feb. 1980.

[39] Letters dated Feb. 11, 1922 from Susan McArthur of Medicine Hat WCTU and Annie Hilliker of the Viking WCTU; dated Feb. 21, 1923 from Louise McKinney, Provincial President of the Alberta WCTU, from Mrs. Armstrong of the Nanton WCTU and M.C. Robertson of Calgary. A petition from Stettler requesting the government not to hold another referendum was presented to the premier, Jan. 27, 1923. There are also letters on file from the UFA and UFWA, The Women's Institute, the Alberta Prohibition League and the Social and Moral Reform League. *Premier's Papers*, PAA.

[40] L.G. Thomas, *The Liberal Party in Alberta: A History of Politics in the Province of Alberta, 1905-1921*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959, pp. 161.

[41] Byrne Hope Sanders, *Emily Murphy: Crusader*. Toronto: Macmillan Co., 1945, pp. 139-155.

[42] Gwen Matheson and V.E. Lang, "Nellie McClung: Not a Nice Woman," in Gwen Matheson (ed.), *Women in the Canadian Mosaic*. Toronto: Peter Martin Associates, 1976, pp. 1-20.

[43] *Interview* with Frank Anderson (author and publisher) by Gerry Puckett, CFAC-TV, Feb. 1972, RCT-88-5, Glenbow.

[44] Byrne Hope Sanders, *Emily Murphy: Crusader*, p. 259.

[45] Neil Sutherland, *Children in English Canadian Society: Framing the Twentieth Century Consensus*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976, p. 241.

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APPENDIX 1

Name of Union	WCTU Official	Husband's Occupation and/or Local Position
Athabasca	J. Minns	Postmaster/School Board Trustee
	A.A. Greer	Real Estate/Pres. Athabasca Natural Gas Co.
	O.B. Schleuda	Jeweller
Bashaw	F.J. Scheck	Jeweller
Calgary	D.A. Bruce	Post Office Inspector
	J. Henderson	Real Estate
	H.W. Hunt	Piano Co.
	A.J. Le Beau	Real Estate
	H.M. McCallum	Auctioneer
	P.S. Woodhall	Pres./Gen. Mgr. of Western Foundry & Metal
Camrose	D.C. Ramsey	Presbyterian Minister
	Palistes	Contractor
Claresholm	J. McKinney	Grain Buyer
	J.W. Hallett	Mgr. Imperial Oil
	C.W. Ringrose	Undertaker
	B.F. Steeves	Physician
Coronation	J.C. Calder	Drugs
	O. Campbell	Clerk
	Sissons	Veterinary Surgery & Livery
Castor	Hartley	Presbyterian Minister
	Nichol	General Store/Town Councillor
Macleod	E.F. Brown	Sec. Treas. of Town
	Hill	Engineer
Medicine Hat	R.H. Kent	Owner
	A. Patterson	Real Estate
Nanton	Thomas Nixon	Hardware
	J.H. Curtiss	Harnessmaker

Appendix 1, cont'd

Name of Union	WCTU Official	Husband's Occupation and/or Local Position
Olds	H.W. Brown	Rancher
	C.G. Craig	General Store
	H.N. Jones	Hay buyer
	R.B. Hughes	Pianos & Undertaking
Red Deer	J. McMillan	Jeweller
	G.W. Smith	Owner Hardware
Sedgewick	E. Clemens	Hardward & farm implements
	A. Watson	Teacher
Seven Persons	Young	Presbyterian Minister
	C. McAskell	Manager
Tofield	R. Whillams	Mgr. "Tofield Standard"
	C. Swift	Lumber
Vegreville	A.H. Goodwin	Doctor/Mayor
	J.C. Butchart	Inspector of Schools
	W.A. Stickle	School Principal
Vermillion	J.D. Stephens	General Store/Sec. Treasurer
Viking	A.E. MacDougall	Manager
	D. McGregor	Presbyterian Minister
Consort	C.H. Holmes	Agent/CPR & Hudson's Bay
Didsbury	F. Moyle	County Councillor
	Parker Reed	Real Estate/Insurance/School Board Trustee
Daysland	H.M. Horrocks	Methodist Minister
	Ellen Schade	Real Estate/Commission of baths Pres. of Agric. Society
Edmonton	S.A.G. Barnes	Dist. Mgr. - Insurance
	C.B. Beals	Agric. Implements
	A. McKay	Mgr. Royal George Hotel
	J.E. Nix	Grocer & Meats
	F.M. Watson	Physician
Edson	F. Fulmer	Real Estate, Insurance/Councillor, School Trustee

Appendix 1, cont'd

Name of Union	WCTU Official	Husband's Occupation and/or Local Position
Fort Saskatchewan	T.J. Stacey	Sec. Treasurer/Ret. Officer for town
	C.O. Baetz	Prop. of "The Conservator"
	Libby	Subagent for Dom. lands
Gadsby	Van Allen	General Store
Gleichen	J.A. Ramsay	General Store
Greenshields	W.A. White	General Store & Postmaster
	W.T. Morrison	Blacksmith
	E. Stouffer	Farmer
Lethbridge	Ingram	Director
	H.M. Whiddington	Architect
Wetaskiwin	Knight	Architect & Pianos
	W.S. Scott	Contractor
Consort	C.H. McFetridge	Implements/Town Councillor

Compiled from Alta WCTU AR, 1914 and Henderson's Alberta Directory, 1914.

APPENDIX 2

1915 Referendum Results[1]

Wet Ridings	WCTU Local in 1914 or 1915
Athabasca	Athabasca
Beaver River	
Bow Valley	
Edson	Edson
Grouard	
Lac St. Anne	
Lethbridge City	Lethbridge City
Pincher Creek	
Redcliffe	
Rocky Mountain	Rocky Mountain
Sturgeon	
St. Albert	
St. Paul	
Stony Plain	
Victoria	
Whitford	

Of the 16 wet ridings, only 4 had had a WCTU local in the two years preceding the 1915 vote.

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[1] E.H. Oliver, The Liquor Traffic in the Prairie Provinces, Board of Home Missions and Social Service, Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1923, pp. 298-300.

Appendix 2, cont'd

Dry Ridings	WCTU local in 1914 or 1915
Acadia	
Alexandra	
Cardston	
Calgary	Calgary
Camrose	Camrose
Claresholm	Claresholm
Clearwater	
Cochrane	
Coronation	Coronation
Didsbury	Didsbury
Edmonton	Edmonton
Edmonton South	Edmonton South
Gleichen	Gleichen
Hand Hills	
High River	High River
Innisfail	Innisfail
Lacombe	Lacombe
Leduc	Leduc
Little Bow	
Macleod	Macleod
Medicine Hat	Medicine Hat
Nanton	Nanton
Olds	Olds
Okotoks	Okotoks

Appendix 2, cont'd

Dry Ridings	WCTU local in 1914 or 1914
Ponoka	Ponoka
Peace River	
Pembina	
Red Deer	
Ribstone	
Sedgewick	Sedgewick
Stettler	
Taber	
Vegreville	Vegreville
Vermilion	Vermilion
Wainwright	
Warner	
Wetaskiwin	Wetaskiwin

Twenty-three of the thirty-seven dry ridings had active WCTU locals in 1914 or 1915.

APPENDIX 3

1920 Referendum Results on the Importation of Liquor into the Province[1]

Wet Ridings	Dry Ridings	Dry Ridings	Dry Ridings
Athabasca	Acadia	Innisfail	Stettler
Beaver River	Alexandra	Lacombe	Sturgeon
Bow Valley	Cardston	Little Bow	Taber
Edson	Calgary	Medicine Hat	Vegreville
Grouard	Camrose	Nanton	Vermilion
Lac St. Anne	Claresholm	Olds	Wainwright
Leduc	Clearwater	Okotoks	Warner
Lethbridge City	Cochrane	Pincher Creek	Wetaskiwin
Macleod	Coronation	Ponoka	
Rocky Mountain	Didsbury	Peace River	
St. Albert	Edmonton	Pembina	
St. Paul	Edmonton South	Redcliffe	
Stony Plain	Gleichen	Red Deer	
Victoria	Hand Hills	Ribstone	
Whitford	High River	Sedgewick	

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[1] Five ridings only changed from the 1915 results. Pincher Creek, Redcliffe and Sturgeon which had no WCTU locals voted wet in 1915 and dry in 1920. Leduc which lost its WCTU in 1916, and Macleod which was active throughout the time span voted dry in 1915, and wet in 1920. E.H. Oliver, The Liquor Traffic in the Prairie Provinces, Board of Home Missions and Social Service, Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1923, p. 304.

APPENDIX 4

STATEMENT OF VOTES POLLED

November 5, 1923

LIQUOR PLEBISCITE

ELECTORAL DIVISION	FIRST CHOICE VOTES A Prohibition	B Licensed Sale of Beer	C Government Sale of Beer	D Government Sale of all Liquors
Acadia	1,250	68	50	1,284
Alexandra	845	61	62	659
Athabasca	145	28	17	646
Beaver River	116	53	31	1,596
Bow Valley	408	109	67	1,311
Calgary	8,843	269	349	16,897
Camrose	2,104	72	94	1,327
Cardston	1,521	15	10	352
Coronation	1,329	82	74	1,075
Claresholm	742	16	16	612
Clearwater	66	23	8	203
Cochrane	424	36	13	510
Didsbury	1,821	144	108	2,144
Edmonton	10,297	513	340	14,041
Edson	410	121	69	2,262
Gleichen	733	67	45	1,392

continued/...

Appendix 4, cont'd

ELECTORAL DIVISION	A Prohibition	B Licensed Sale of Beer	C Government Sale of Beer	D Government Sale of all Liquor
Grouard	133	32	22	1,115
Hand Hills	1,126	127	93	1,908
High River	753	32	22	738
Innisfail	919	32	23	693
Lacombe	1,623	69	59	965
Lac Ste. Anne	411	104	68	1,399
Leduc	660	63	37	1,132
Lethbridge	1,342	56	52	3,157
Little Bow	867	38	46	742
Macleod	314	23	15	780
Medicine Hat	1,915	150	96	3,107
Nanton	497	16	15	567
Okotoks	495	47	21	750
Olds	1,135	43	36	783
Peace River	1,087	116	106	2,309
Pembina	747	66	40	879
Pincher Creek	250	22	12	763
Ponoka	982	33	38	665
Redcliff	498	100	54	987
Red Deer	1,647	70	38	1,170
Ribstone	1,196	70	54	849

continued/...

Appendix 4, cont'd

ELECTORAL DIVISION	A Prohibition	B Licensed Sale of Beer	C Government Sale of Beer	D Government Sale of all Liquor
Rocky Mountain	641	88	76	2,578
Sedgewick	1,272	61	64	1,204
St. Albert	163	45	28	1,772
Stettler	1,430	80	60	1,429
Stony Plain	428	73	29	996
St. Paul	209	76	36	1,283
Sturgeon	890	146	112	1,902
Taber	1,618	59	56	1,521
Vegreville	1,215	68	73	1,894
Vermilion	1,055	64	63	1,562
Victoria	638	40	41	1,407
Wainwright	935	56	61	1,194
Warner	293	27	12	565
Wetaskiwin	1,040	37	40	946
Whitford	170	30	27	1,658
	61,647	3,936	3,078	93,680

35 districts voted for "D"   17 districts voted for "A"

APPENDIX 5

ESSAY PLACES[1]

Places holding essay contests in 1923[2]

Lacombe	dry		Westcott	wet
Didsbury	wet	near to Calgary	Wetaskiwin	dry
Crossfield	wet		Viking	dry
Three Hills	dry		Ryley	wet
Innisfail	dry		Parkland	dry
Olds	dry			
Lamont	wet			
Claresholm	dry			

5 wet; 8 dry

---

[1] Cities of Calgary, Lethbridge, Medicine Hat and Edmonton have been eliminated from both lists. All voted wet.

[2] At a time when the vote was overwhelmingly in favor of the "wets" (only 17 ridings voted dry), essay contests had been run in more "dry" than "wet" ridings.

Appendix 5, cont'd

Places holding essay contests in 1926[3]

Didsbury	wet	Olds	dry
Clive	dry	Parkland	wet
Chinook	wet	Stettler	dry
Consort	dry	Red Deer	dry
Claresholm	dry	Viking	dry
Chipman	wet	Vermilion	wet
Beverley	wet	Wainwright	dry
Lacombe	dry	Wetaskiwin	dry
Lamont	wet	Youngstown	wet
Grande Prairie	dry		

8 wet; 11 dry

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[3] The 1926 places that had essay contests also were more likely to be in places that had voted dry in 1923.